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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 311



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25 June 1982

CHINA REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### OECD MEETING EXAMINES WESTERN ECONOMIES

OW121640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Paris, May 11 (XINHUA)--Ministers from 24 member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) ended a two-day meeting here today.

With a view to working out a common strategy for freeing these countries from the economic crisis, the meeting paved the way for a summit conference of seven major industrialized countries to be held at Versailles near Paris early next month.

The U.S. policy of high interest rates was once again censured at the meeting. Western Europe and Japan held that the U.S. monetarist policy has affected a recovery of the Western economy from recession. They asked Washington to reduce sharply financial and budget deficits so as to lessen pressures on the interest rates.

France, Denmark and several other countries at the meeting set out their views that stimulating economic growth to create employment is now a top priority.

France called for coordinated action to stabilize foreign exchange markets through a system of government intervention.

The United States defended its high interest rate policy, stressing that its strict policies have succeeded dramatically in bringing down inflation and that interest rates will drop as soon as the United States gets a grip on its huge budget deficit. It held that divergent economic policies are a major source of the difficulties faced by the Western world.

A communique issued after the meeting showed that in the view of the ministers, the battle against inflation should remain their prime economic priority for ending the current economic recession. "There is a pressing need to reduce unemployment, but this objective cannot be achieved on a sustainable basis unless continued successful efforts are made to reduce inflation," the communique said.

It continued, "Ministers agreed that although some countries have been successful in lowering underlying inflation, it nevertheless remains a serious problem."

The communique stressed that ministers agreed to carry forward the strategy they have been following since the second oil shock to promote a non-inflationary growth which "cannot be achieved unless there is more productive investment, better productivity, and technological progress." It added that maintenance of an open trading system is essential.

The industrialized countries, the communique noted, should make efforts to develop their relations with the developing countries, particularly to engage in global negotiations with these countries.

On the future of the Western economy, it pointed out, "The short-term prospect is for moderate expansion of economic activity in the OECD area, including perhaps a recovery in employment next year, but not one sufficient to lead to an early reduction in current high levels of unemployment."

New OECD forecasts include a prediction that unemployment will reach 8.8 per cent of the OECD work force or about 30 million workers next year. The forecasts also set gross national product growth this year at 0.3 per cent instead of 1.1 per cent predicted earlier.

CSO: 4000/126

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKS WITH MOROCCAN KING

OW201220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 19 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today held talks with King Hassan II of Morocco with both pledging to further strengthen the relationship between the two countries.

During a 2-hour morning session today, Reagan and King Hassan discussed a wide range of bilateral and global issues including the Middle East, and the Western Sahara.

In his remarks made after the meeting, Reagan noted the importance of the relations with Morocco, saying that country is located at the crossroads of two continents lying on NATO's southern flank at the entrance of the Mediterranean. The United States places "great value" on cooperation and friendship with Morocco, Reagan said.

In response, the King said, "We must try to build a bridge of solidarity and understanding." Morocco is ready to further develop relations with the United States, he added.

One of the major bilateral issues in their discussions was U.S. access to the facilities in Morocco in the event of an emergency in the Middle East. An agreement in principle on this matter had been reached during Secretary of State Haig's visit to the kingdom last February. After today's meeting, a senior U.S. official disclosed that both sides agreed the agreement should be completed as soon as possible. The facilities will include an air base, he added.

On international issues, Reagan briefed the king about the ongoing U.S. efforts in the Middle East peace process. Reagan said the king and he agreed "to continue a strategic dialogue on security" in the region. Hassan indicated his country will continue its support for Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Meanwhile, the king briefed the president on the latest development in his efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

The United States has a long-standing relationship with Morocco and their ties have been developed in recent years. The two countries have set up a joint committee for economic relations and a joint military commission which held its first meeting last month. An agreement establishing a bi-national commission for cultural and educational exchanges was also signed. The United States gives Morocco 55 million dollars in economic aid annually and provides about 30 million dollars in yearly foreign military sales credit.

King Hassan II arrived in Washington on Tuesday for a four-day official working visit. He will hold a series of talks with members of Reagan's cabinet on military, trade and other issues before leaving on May 21.

CSO: 4000/126

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### THIRD WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS VIEWED

OW181915 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 18 May 82

["Round-up: Environmental Deterioration in Developing Countries Should Be Checked--by XINHUA Correspondent Ye Zhixiong"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Nairobi, May 17 (XINHUA)--The governing council of the U.N. Environmental program held a special session here recently to review the achievements on environmental protection since the Stockholm conference on human environment in 1972 and studied the measures to be adopted.

Representatives from more than 100 member states and international institutions unanimously pointed out at the meeting that the most important achievements in the past decade was [as received] the general awareness of the importance of environmental protection. So far more than 100 countries have set up related national departments, adopted legislations, approved international cooperation agreements and taken concrete measures to strengthen environmental protection.

The meeting held that in the past decade, some progress has been made in the developed countries with their advanced technology and financial strength. However, many delegates from the Third World countries pointed out that the environmental situation in most of the developing countries has actually worsened further in the past decade as a result of poverty, population growth, deteriorating terms of international trade and other economic difficulties. They held that the underdevelopment and poverty left from the past have constituted the worst and the most intractable problems in the Third World and the major cause of the environmental deterioration.

It was pointed out at the meeting that more than 450 million people were chronically hungry or malnourished during the past decade, and over 50 nations have ceased to be self-sufficient in food in the past two decades.

The Swedish delegate noted that at present 250 million poor people are living in urban slums and squatter areas.

The director general of the World Health Organization told the meeting that infant mortality during the first year of life in most of the developing countries ranges from 100 to 200 per thousand, whereas in developed countries

it ranges from merely 10 to 20 per thousand. During the past decade, five million children in the developing countries died each year from diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, measles, poliomyelitis and tuberculosis.

The meeting pointed out that the sharp increase of world population is also one of the causes of the deteriorating environmental problem. In the past decade, the population in the world as a whole increased by 900 million people.

It said that the wanton felling of trees for firewood or settlement needs is another cause of the deterioration of the environmental problem. In the developing countries, forest destruction has become increasingly serious. An investigation showed that a quarter of the earth's closed canopy forests has been lost over the last 20 years. Tropical forests are destroyed at over 11 million hectares a year. At least, 12 percent of the world's existing tropical forests will disappear by the year 2000. Widespread deforestation has led to serious soil erosion, desertification and other natural disasters in the developing countries.

The Canadian delegate said that the environmental problem in the developed countries includes the acid rain and toxic chemical management. He referred to the "environmental dumping" by the developed countries at the expense of the developing countries with the sole purpose of evading provisions on environmental protection. He called this practice "a real danger of neo-colonialism."

In order to improve the current situation, the Yugoslav delegate pointed out that the serious environmental problem of the developing countries is a result of poverty and can therefore be dealt with successfully only through development. The Tanzanian delegate said: "For the developing countries to play a more effective role in the field of environment management, it is imperative that a new international economic order must be established."

As many delegates pointed out that there is "only one earth," for the interests of the present and future generations of mankind, the developed countries should sincerely cooperate with the developing countries in dealing with the environmental problem. The question is whether they have the political insight to do so.

CSO: 4000/126

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DISCUSSION ON MITTERRAND'S AFRICAN TRIP

OW261854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 26 May 82

["Roundup Mitterrand African Trip by XINHUA Correspondent Pan Yongming"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Paris, May 26 (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand, toured the three African countries of Niger, Ivory Coast and Senegal, and made brief stopovers at Algiers and Nouakchott from May 19 to 26.

This is President Mitterrand's first visit to Africa since he took office at the Elysee Palace in May, 1981.

During his visit, Mitterrand repeatedly made assurances of France's "commitments" to Africa in talks with African state leaders or in open speeches. He also explained the policy of his socialist party government towards the Third World and towards Africa in particular, to indicate that his party is more concerned about their relations with French-speaking Africa than their predecessors.

Africa is important to France not only because France used to be the suzerain state of many African countries in the past but also because today's France, as an industrialized capitalist country short of raw materials and markets, can hardly exist and develop without these countries.

Since Mitterrand came to power, he has internationally concentrated his efforts on relations between East and West and between Europe and the United States, the European Community issues and the Middle East crisis. Now he hopes to consolidate and strengthen France's relations with those African countries which are more closely related to France and broaden France's influence in Africa through his visit.

He has focused his visit on Africa's "independence" and "security." In his speech made in Niger, he warned African leaders of the two superpowers' hegemonic attempts. He said the superpowers are "seeking at all costs to push their global interest further" and that "Africa can acquire its real position only in an international community where the independence of various countries



is respected and foreign interference is prohibited." He stressed that France will continue to exist in Africa but will not interfere in its affairs. He said that France "will carry out its commitment to the security of its friends."

France currently has concluded defense treaties or military agreements with more than 20 African countries, and has stationed 7,500 military personnel in 17 of these countries.

During his visit, Mitterrand reiterated France's support to the view that African problems should be solved by Africans and advocated that their disputes should be settled through consultations among the Organization of African Unity and the states concerned.

During his visit, Mitterrand also said that the north and south should hold more consultations to strive for a "best balance" of the north-south relations and "joint development" of the developed and developing countries.

Mitterrand emphasized in particular that the prices for raw materials should be stabilized "to guarantee the stabilization of market prices for raw materials is the essence of the north-south policy," he said.

In recent years, the sharp fall of prices for various raw materials, resulting from economic recession in the capitalist world, has brought enormous losses to the Third World countries.

However, Mitterrand promised that he will appeal to the summit meeting that will be held by heads of state of seven Western countries in June to adopt measures for the stabilization of prices for raw materials.

While stating that France is willing to make contributions to the economic development in Africa, Mitterrand promised that France will increase economic aid to the African countries so as to strengthen its traditional ties with them.

Mitterrand's trip to Africa, therefore, shows clearly that the policy pursued by the French Socialist Party in Africa is designed to match the two super-powers' expansion by strengthening its relations with African countries and extending its influence there. As Mitterrand stated clearly before his trip, France will "try its best to support the presence of African countries and, at the same time, it will certainly maintain and strive to increase its appropriate interests."

CSO: 4000/126

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### UN NAMIBIA COUNCIL DECLARATION DENOUNCES U.S.

OW141956 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Arusha, Tanzania, May 13 (XINHUA)--An Arusha declaration and program of action for Namibia was adopted here this evening at the closing session of the extraordinary plenary meeting of the U.N. Council for Namibia.

The declaration said the meeting has served to draw attention to Namibia's current and critical situation and intensify support by the international community for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the Southwest African People's Organization [SWAPO].

The U.N. council reiterated its conviction that the intensified armed liberation struggle by the Namibian people continues to be a decisive factor in efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The declaration pointed out that the situation in Namibia is a matter of decolonization and must be resolved in accordance with relevant U.N. resolutions. It denounced and rejected all South African maneuvers used by the illegal regime to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia.

The declaration denounced the United States for collaborating with the racist regime of South Africa and engaging in hostile acts and propaganda against SWAPO.

The declaration said the U.N. plan contained in Security Council Resolutions 385 and 435 is the only universally accepted basis for a negotiated settlement and called for its immediate implementation.

The program of action said "The council urges the international community to extend support and assistance to SWAPO for its liberation struggle and to the front line states for defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity against South African aggression.

The program called on all U.N. members not to recognize any puppet regimes or any internal settlement for Namibia's problems.

It said the U.N. council asks all U.N. members to work toward an early negotiated settlement for Namibia based on U.N. resolutions 385 and 435.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY OF THE MIDEAST

#### UNESCO Condemns Israel

OW151652 Beijing XINHUA in English 1642 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Paris, May 15 (XINHUA)--The 114th session of the UNESCO Executive Council adopted a resolution here yesterday; condemning Israel for carrying out a repressive policy in its annexed Arab territories.

The resolution asked the UNESCO director-general to continue "his action in strengthening the cooperation between UNESCO and the educational and cultural institutions in the occupied Arab territories, especially technical and financial aid in universities as well as scientific and technological institutes."

Representatives of Algeria,, Senegal and Syria in their speeches yesterday condemned Israel for declaring Jerusalem its capital, and the Israeli parliament for adopting a resolution on the annexation of the Golan Heights. They also denounced Israel for taking measures to annex the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip with the intention to create a "Grand Israel."

Chinese representative Yang Bozhen said in his speech, "The pursuance by Israel of a policy of destroying the characteristics of Arab culture and the rights to education in the occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, has caused new and serious consequences, which cannot but arouse our grave attention." This, he noted, was inseparable from the policies pursued by the two superpowers in the Middle East.

The American representative said he was opposed to the resolution concerning culture and education in the occupied Arab territories because it was too political and because the settlement of the Arab-Israeli difference was outside the competence of UNESCO.

The session, opened in the UNESCO headquarters on May 5, will last till May 21.

## Arms Sales to Israel

OW150812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 14 (XINHUA)--The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) has urged the Reagan administration to suspend further military sales to Israel, including eleven more F-15 jet fighters.

At a press conference it held here today, the NAAA said it has also requested that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee hold hearings on Israel's use of American weapons and review Israel's occupation policies in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights prior to approving further military sales to Israel.

The NAAA maintained that there is ample evidence that Israel has violated the terms of the U.S. arms export control act in its attacks on Lebanon and Iraq last year. Israel's unprovoked bombing raids on April 21 and May 9 are only the most recent examples.

Suspension of the sale of F-15s would be a direct signal to Israel of U.S. objection to Israel's illegal use of American weapons and to Israel's policies in the occupied territories that are in violation of United Nations resolutions and the fourth Geneva convention, it said.

The U.S. administration notified congress on April 26 of Israel's request to purchase the jet fighters and other military equipment.

## U.S. Envoy to Athens

OW151615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1547 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Cairo, May 15 (XINHUA)--U.S. special envoy to the Palestinian autonomy talks Richard Fairbanks left here for Athens this morning at the end of a three-day visit to Egypt.

Fairbanks will report to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who is currently visiting Greece, on the outcome of his talks in Egypt and Israel on resuming the stalled Palestinian autonomy talks.

Since his arrival in Cairo from Israel Tuesday, the U.S. envoy had held talks with Egyptian deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali and had been received by President Husni Mubarak.

During the talks, the Egyptian side reiterated its standpoint on the proposed Palestinian autonomy. It stressed the necessity of extending full power to the Palestinian authorities during the transitional period. It called for the initiation of confidence-building measures in the occupied territories "so as to create an atmosphere which will encourage the Palestinians to participate in the autonomy negotiations."

It also called for halting Israeli acts of repression against the inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza. It regarded Israeli settlements in the occupied territories as an obstacle to peace.

The Egyptian side also said that the Palestinian autonomy negotiations should not take place in Jerusalem as Israel insists since the status of the city itself is a subject of negotiations.

An American proposal that the negotiations be held in Washington has been rejected by Israel.

It was reported that no other venue has yet been decided for the trilateral negotiations.

#### U.S. Planes to Israel

OW270832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 26 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Government has secretly notified congress of its plans to sell 75 F-16 fighters to Israel for 2.7 billion dollars, it was learned here today.

The sale will double the number of F-16s in the Israeli inventory and, in the view of the Pentagon, maintain Israeli military superiority.

The notification was reportedly sent to congress on May 24, a day before Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon conferred with U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Sharon was in Washington for a private visit. He also met with Secretary of State Alexander Haig on Tuesday.

Last month the Pentagon was said to have completed plans to provide Israel with 11 F-15 fighters for 510 million dollars, bringing Israel's fleet of F-15s to 51.

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted yesterday to increase direct military grants to Israel 100 million dollars above the 750 million requested by the U.S. Government.

#### Algerian, Syrian, Egyptian Relations

OW171549 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Algiers, May 16 (XINHUA)--Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad today announced their objection to Arab countries' resumption of normal relations with Egypt.

In a press communique issued here today, the two presidents called on "all Arab countries to abide by the decisions adopted at the Arab summit conference held in Baghdad and bring an end to any attempt at the reestablishment of their relations with the Egyptian regime as long as the causes leading to the rupture of these relations are still valid."

The communique pointed out that the objective of the imperialist-Zionist offensive is to isolate and liquidate the Arab world's "revolutionary, progressive and nationalist positions and to liquidate the Palestinian cause by the extension of the Camp David process to other Arab countries."

The communique also said, the two presidents discussed the situation about the steadfastness front and decided to hold a foreign ministers' meeting of the front in Algeria late this month.

Member states of the front are: Algeria, Syria, Libya, South Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

President Hafiz al-Asad left here this afternoon after a two-day visit to this country.

CSO: 4000/127

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON EASTERN EUROPE

#### Jaruzelski Meets Rusakov

OW201816 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 20 (XINHUA)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Tuesday met with Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, commander in chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The Polish News Agency reported that the meeting dealt with the training of the armed forces and the perfection of their combat disposition.

Earlier, the agency said, the Polish party leader received Konstantin Viktorovich Rusakov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and discussed with him how to strengthen the organizational ties between the two parties.

#### Polish Domestic Situation

JW111347 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 10 (XINHUA)--The Polish Government met today under chairmanship of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski to examine the tense situation in the country following a series of demonstrations in some cities early this month.

A government press spokesman announced in a statement after the meeting that the government had recently taken legal actions against the planners and organizers of these demonstrations and their participants.

The statement said the government had detained a total of 2,269 provocative agitators, of whom 24 were sentenced to prison terms and 1,339 others either put into three-month detention or fined. Disciplinary actions ranging from suspension of student privileges to expulsion would be taken against those college and high school students who had taken part in the demonstrations.



The statement noted that despite these incidents, the possibility of resuming dialogues to reach mutual understanding and engaging in people's consultations still existed.

In the evening, a Polish T.V. program showed a film about Radio "Free Europe" and accused the said radio of engaging in the inflammatory propaganda to incite tension in Poland.

The Polish Foreign Ministry reportedly ordered today the expulsion of two diplomats of the U.S. Embassy on charges of their engagement in activities incompatible with their diplomatic status. They are John W. Zerolis, science attache and James D. Howard, first secretary of cultural affairs.

#### Poles Answer Solidarity Demonstrations

OW142024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 13 (XINHUA)--Answering the call of the banned Polish "Solidarity" Trade Union, Part Mielec Airplane Factory in southern Poland downed tools for 15 minutes at noon today, PAP reported.

Meanwhile, the report said, there were demonstrations in the Warsaw streets. At 12:00 hours sharp today, in downtown Warsaw, over 100 buses, trams and cars stopped almost simultaneously as the drivers began honking horns for one minute. There was a huge traffic jam and big crowds gathered chanting anti-martial law slogans until 20 minutes later when anti-riot police armed with tear gas and shields came and charged and dispersed the crowds of thousands of people.

This is the third time the "Solidarity" union has organized protesting actions since early this month. "Solidarity" made the call for today's 15-minute strike, and one-minute horn-honking, early on April 22, in protest against the imposition of martial law and demanding the release of Lech Walesa and other union leaders.

Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban at a press conference this afternoon described the strike and demonstrations as "not surprising." He added however, that although the situation in the country was calm on the whole, it would not mean calm would prevail throughout the country from now on.

#### New Yugoslav Assembly

OW160200 Beijing XINHUA in English 0100 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (XINHUA)--The assembly of Yugoslavia today elected Raif Dizdarevic as its president and Mito Michjkov as its vice-president, both for a term of one year.



This was the first time that an one-year-term system was introduced for the presidency of the assembly of Yugoslavia, in accordance with the principle of collective leadership put forward by the late president of the republic Josip Broz Tito.

The two chambers of the assembly also elected their respective presidents, Dr Anton Vratosa as president of the Federal Chamber and Nikola Kmezic president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

This is Yugoslavia's third delegate assembly, which is the highest legislative body of the country. The new president of the Federal Executive Assembly (the Yugoslav Government) and its 28 members will be elected at a joint session of the two assembly chambers.

Raif Dizdarevic, 56, was president of the presidency of the Constituent Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina before he he was elected to the present post.

Dr Anton Vratosa, 67, held many ranking posts in the Federation including the post of the Federal Executive Council vice-president.

Nikola Kmezic, 63, was president of the Provincial Executive Council of Vojvodina before he was elected to the present post.

The Federal Chamber is composed of 220 delegates, with 30 delegates from each republic and 20 from each province.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces consists of 88 delegates, with 12 delegates from each republic and 8 from each province.

The assembly delegates have the right to make laws on all important issues through a consultative consensus.

#### Nonaligned Bloc Unity Stressed

OW110945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (XINHUA)--India and Yugoslavia have agreed to make efforts to increase the unity and capability of the non-aligned countries to contribute to relaxing the world tension.

Indian President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy today concluded his five-day official good-will visit to Yugoslavia, during which he held talks with Sergej Kraigher, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, on major world problems and bilateral cooperation between the two countries, according to local reports.

In their talks the two heads of state expressed their concern over the deteriorating world situation, military rivalries between big powers in Europe, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean as well as the constant threats to the independence of small countries by the superpowers.

They stated that they would work for the settlement of the disputes between Iraq and Iran and those between other non-aligned countries.

The two heads of state also discussed ways and means to strengthen cooperation between the two countries in the fields of trade, science and technology and production.

#### SFRY, Romania Produce Planes

OW220746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia and Romania have begun to jointly produce jet-fighters Jastreb (hawk) for the use of their armed forces.

This was disclosed by Slobodan Alagicj, commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and the air defence force, in a statement to the Yugoslav army paper NARODNA ARMIJA today to mark the Yugoslav Air Force Day.

Alagicj also said that besides the Jastreb, the Yugoslav Air Force also has the Galeb-4S (seagulls), a kind of training fighter designed and produced in Yugoslavia.

CSO: 4000/128

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON WESTERN EUROPE

#### NATO Officials Meet

OW171635 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Luxembourg, May 17 (XINHUA)--NATO's Secretary General Mr J. Luns today urged the allies to work "for a safer world through dialogue and negotiation with equivalent vigour in maintaining a convincing defence posture."

The secretary general said here at an opening ceremony of NATO's spring meeting of foreign ministers that at a time of widespread economic hardship this would inevitably entail agonizing choices between the requirements of prudent defence and competing social demands. He said that the allies should pool their resources in the defence field, but unfortunately this question had been handled often in their narrow national interest. He stressed that this trend must be changed. Mr Luns noted that although the Atlantic allies continue to prefer dialogues to military confrontation, there must be reciprocal willingness to act with restraint and to avoid provocation. However, looking for signs particularly in the Soviet Union is not a very encouraging enterprise, he added.

Luxembourg Prime Minister Mr. Pierre Werner noted at the ceremony that it would be dangerous to believe the mollifying statements of the Soviet Union. He asked the allies not to disregard the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet forces. "In view of the Soviet Union's present behaviour, the Atlantic Alliance has no option but to devote all its efforts to preserving a strong defence posture which is able to deter any potential aggressor and induce our enemies to resume a constructive dialogue with the West," he stressed.

"Luxembourg is ready and willing to do its bit in furtherance of our common purpose," Mr Werner declared. He also stressed the importance of North America's military commitment to Europe and of the preservation of a harmonious trans-Atlantic relationship.

Honourary president of the council, the Canadian Foreign Minister Mr. MacGuigan welcomed President Ronald Reagan's recent proposal to the Soviet Union on the reduction of strategic weapons. He also expressed his support to Britain in the current conflict with Argentina over the Falklands (Malvinas).

## Topics of Session

OW171232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Luxembourg, May 16 (XINHUA)--NATO's Secretary General J. Luns said here today the allies must make whatever effort is required to preserve a strong and credible capability in order to convince the Soviet Union of the need to negotiate seriously on arms control.

Speaking at a press conference on the eve of the two-day spring session of NATO's foreign ministers due to open here tomorrow, Luns said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Moscow's role in the Polish incident have obviously violated the international law and are incompatible with its declared peaceful intentions.

Referring to the spring session, Luns said the current state of East-West relations will undoubtedly be one of the principal subjects to be discussed at the session. Other subjects, he said, will include the up-coming NATO summit in June, the peace movements in the NATO member countries and economic and scientific cooperation and cooperation in the field of armaments within the alliance.

The security implications for the alliance of the transfer of advanced military technology to the Warsaw Pact countries will also be discussed at the session, he added.

He welcomed U.S. President Ronald Reagan's recent proposals to the Soviet Union on strategic weapons reduction.

On the British-Argentina conflict around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, he declared that NATO will not change its position in support of Britain.

## NATO Air, Sea Maneuver

OW160354 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Rome, May 15 (XINHUA)--The 12-day NATO naval and air maneuver in southern Europe ended today, according to an ANSA report.

The military maneuver, code-named "Distant Drum 8," was directed by Admiral William Crowe Jr [as received], commander-in-chief and other generals of the allied forces in southern Europe.

About 10,000 soldiers from Turkey, Greece, Italy, the United States and France took part in the maneuver, which included the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower" and three other warships.

The maneuver was divided into three stages. Simulated attacks from the sea by U.S. and other allied troops were staged at the last stage to help Italy "liberate" the key positions on Sardinia from enemy occupation.

Admiral Crowe said that the maneuver was designed to train land-based naval, air and amphibious forces and put them on full alert.

Italian Deputy Defence Minister Martino Scovacricchi [as received] watched the maneuver.

#### Greek, Turkish Disputes

OW151545 Beijing XINHUA in English 1531 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Ankara, May 15 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced here this morning, "The U.S. wants the disputes between Turkey and Greece over the Aegean Sea to be solved by peaceful means."

This was said by Haig at a press conference held at Ankara airport this morning just before his departure at the end of a three-day visit to Turkey.

Haig said he was going to Athens and would discuss with Greek leaders on the same subject.

Haig was received here yesterday afternoon by Turkish head of state Kenan Evren. In their talks, Haig told Evren that the U.S. administration felt deep concern for the deterioration of the relations between Turkey and Greece. Haig said, "The frictions between the two countries pose a serious threat for the southeastern flank of NATO and considerably weaken NATO's deterrence ability."

U.S. officials here said that the secretary of state wanted to promote Greek-Turkish understanding, but not as a mediator.

Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen announced at the same press conference that Turkey always wanted to negotiate with Greece.

Turkey and Greece, two neighbors and NATO members, have had a longstanding dispute over the Aegean Sea. Their relations have further deteriorated since their dialogue was suspended last October.

#### Haig, Papandreou Talks

OW161254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Athens, May 16 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a press conference here this morning that he and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou had talks which would improve bilateral relations.

Haig arrived here yesterday for a visit at the invitation of the Greek Government. He had two meetings with the Greek prime minister.

He said at the press conference that all issues were discussed at the talks: U.S.-Greek relations, U.S. bases in Greece, Greek-NATO relations, Greek-Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem. He had a full knowledge and understanding of the issues and hoped to find out solutions later, he said.

When their talks ended yesterday evening, Papandreou said, no problems found a solution. The main purpose of the talks was to create a framework for future solutions, he said, adding that he was satisfied with the talks.

In the two weeks preceding Haig's trip to Turkey and Greece, sources said, there were signs of improvement in the atmosphere of Greek-American relations. Increased U.S. military aid to Greece was approved earlier this month. The U.S. Defense Department Friday announced the proposed sale of Harpoon missiles to the Greek Navy.

Haig leaves here this noon for Luxembourg to attend a NATO foreign ministers meeting.

CSO: 4000/125

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EUROPEAN TROOP REDUCTION TALKS OPEN

OW141858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1546 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Vienna, May 13 (XINHUA)--A new round of the talks on troops reduction in Central Europe started here today.

Twenty-six rounds of talks, which were attended by NATO members on the one side and Warsaw Pact countries on the other, were held in the past nine years but all ended in failure because of the wide gap in the assessment of the military strength of the Warsaw Pact countries.

During the 26th round of the talks, the Polish delegation put forward a draft agreement "On the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Equipment in Central Europe and Related Measures in the First Stage." The NATO countries rejected it as a propaganda stunt with nothing new. At the last meeting of the 26th round, the head of the Soviet delegation accused the West of carrying out "fruitless debate" with "ulterior motives." The head of the U.S. delegation countered by stressing the necessity of making clear the present military strength of the Warsaw Pact bloc. Without this, he said, it is impossible for the talks to make headway.

The 304th [as printed] plenary session was held this morning. Head of the German Democratic Republic delegation Andre Wieland spoke on behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries at a jointly sponsored press conference after the session and asked the West to consider the Warsaw Pact proposal in a realistic and constructive manner.

The British representative Murry Simons noted at the press conference on behalf of NATO countries that although the draft agreement "contained some useful elements, it at the same time revealed no progress on data and insufficient progress on associated measures to permit drafting a first agreement text." He added that joint efforts to start drafting would be meaningful only after differences on overall issues had been brought closer to solution and genuine progress had been made towards agreement on data and associated measures.

The process of the Vienna talks, just as a NATO spokesman pointed out at the conclusion of the last round of talks, is "difficult and disappointing." Observers here predicted that from prevailing signs, the new round of talks will be no more fruitful than previous ones.

CSO: 4000/126



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

U.S. SUGAR TO GUYANA--Georgetown, May 13 (XINHUA)--The state run Guyana Sugar Corporation in a statement today criticised the U.S. introduction of a quota system for sugar imports as a protectionist measure severely damaging the interests of sugar exporting developing countries. The corporation pointed out the measure undermines the whole conception of the Caribbean basin initiative. It encourages the inroad in the sugar market of alternative sweeteners such as high fructose corn syrup, tends to increase prices for U.S. consumers and damages most severely the interests of sugar exporting developing countries, the statement added. The corporation suggested that the U.S. authorities should consider giving the Caribbean Community countries a group sugar quota, which would enable sugar-exporting member countries to take up each other's shortfalls if there is any. The statement also blamed the EEC for the current decline in the world price of sugar. It said the decline was due to a huge EEC beet sugar surplus. [Text] [OW150134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 15 May 82]

CSO: 4000/126



## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF PARTY SPIRIT STRESSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Party Spirit--The Soul of the Strong"]

[Text] The play "Who Is the Stronger" currently playing in Harbin has aroused a strong social response. The Jiamusi No 2 Agricultural Machine Factory, in treating the problem of the "relationship door," has over the past few years persevered in the principle of "no giving gifts, no accepting gifts, no compromise," and in so doing they, in real life, are among the strong.

What is the soul of those who are strong? It is party spirit.

Party spirit is the concentrated manifestation of the proletarian world view; stated simply, it is what makes every party member and cadre want to take the party's standpoint, forget themselves and strive for the fundamental advantage of the party and the people, and engage in absolutely uncompromising struggle against all things that are to the disadvantage of the party or the people. In our present efforts to enable party practices, the general atmosphere of society, and order in society to show a fundamental improvement, party practices are the major point of emphasis. And in the course of our efforts to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, the core issue is how to strengthen party spirit.

For some time, some comrades have had misgivings that it would be difficult to overcome improper practices, such as "the relationship door," saying that "it is difficult for a single wall to block the wind from four directions," and being on the one hand affected by misgivings, yet continuing to engage in the bad practices. This attitude smacks of wavering, to one degree or another, in the principle of party spirit. Party spirit may indeed be likened to a wall that blocks the wind of improper practices; yet if the wall is already torn down, what wind can it withstand?

There are also some comrades who plainly engage in improper practices, consoling themselves with the idea that they themselves "are not the source of the practices." This is also a manifestation of weakness in party spirit. We must recognize that in the course of our future influence on each other with regard to what bad practices we may develop, others might have corrupted us, or we might have corrupted

others. Then one day, when the situation has developed further, in relation to others we would have become that source of bad practices. Therefore, the correct course of action can only be to strengthen our own party spirit so that we ourselves can serve as a strong link in our relationship with others.

There are also some comrades who fear "bucking the trend," and fear a "backlash" from the institution of the relationship door.

It is a question of what a person believes in; if what you believe in includes improper practices, such as the "relationship door," however that way of thinking may have spread to you, then is it still, after all, illegal in our party and society, or is it not? The question here is whether or not one is steadfast in party spirit. The more that bad practices have not been eliminated, the more we need to hate evil like an enemy, and be firm and indomitable about it. If everyone strives together, and perseveres in carrying out their business in accordance with the principle of party spirit, then all fears of "bucking the trend" or suffering a "backlash" will have vanished without a trace.

Thoroughly rectifying improper practices, of course, will require an arduous struggle. This kind of corrupt, bourgeois thinking is fundamentally incompatible with our socialist system, and saying that it is "hard to control" is not as correct as saying that only in our kind of society can it be brought completely under control. Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, we have been in the process of getting a good hold on the solution of this problem. Beginning with this year, the Party Central Committee has emphasized our taking charge of the building of spiritual civilization, and at the same time has taken charge of dealing with some serious cases of economic crimes, and this is even more advantageous for bringing about a decisive improvement for the better in party practices and the general climate of society. At present, all of us Communist Party members and cadres face a task of engaging in a serious conflict with bourgeois corruption, and we all must expend all of our forces for the sake of building socialist spiritual civilization.

The comrades of Jiamusi No 2 Agricultural Machine Factory have given us a fine example of persevering in the principle of party spirit and not bowing to the influence of corrupt practices. In only all of us, like them, so emphasize party spirit, engage in less idle talk, knuckle down, struggle determinedly, uphold right and eliminate evil, then we will definitely obtain a speedy success. Of that we may rest assured.

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CSO: 4005/735

## PARTY AND STATE

### STREAMLINING THE ADMINISTRATION -- 'FEWER BUT BETTER'

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Peng Xueshi [1756 1331 6108]: "'Fewer But Better' -- A Study of Lenin's Theory of Streamlining the Administration"]

[Text] The great revolutionary teacher Lenin always placed great value on constructing and reforming the proletarian state administration. In 1922, he commented during one of his major speeches saying, "I am especially concerned about this topic." In March of 1923 when he was seriously ill he nonetheless spoke to the Russian Communist Party's "Twelfth Congress," making major suggestions concerning methods for reforming the worker-peasant office of investigations and how to improve the entire Soviet administration. Lenin pointed out that reform of the state administration ought to follow the principle of "fewer but better."

The Soviet state administration was born in the flames of the revolution, serves the proletariat and the broad people and has good basic qualities. Nonetheless, it also has shortcomings. For example, there are serious problems of bureaucratism and slow work style. Lenin believed that, "Such problems can be overcome only after many years of unremitting struggle."

After cessation of the civil war, within the Soviet state the class struggles still were very sharp and there was an abundance of revolutionary tasks. The proletarian ruling party urgently needed a capable and vigorous state administration to quickly handle all sorts of urgent problems and organize economic and cultural construction. At that time, however, the condition of the Soviet administration was such that a suitable response to the needs of the proletarian government could not be made.

"There probably are no more than ten or so courageous, unstinting people while there are several hundred who idle about, work slowly or half-heartedly, buried in a mound of documents. Such a ratio will bury our vigorous efforts in a sea of official papers.

Confronted with those frustrating aspects of the Soviet administration Lenin calmly told the members of the Russian Communist

Party: "Never become dispirited and don't be afraid of failure, just keep trying harder." In talking to the Russian Communist Party members about the important and urgent task of streamlining the administration, Lenin said: "At this time the most important tasks for the next few years are to reduce the administration, improve organizations, eliminate idleness and bureaucratism and reduce non-production expenses in order to streamline the administration and reduce the expenses."

Lenin believed that streamlining the state administration was of great importance in eliminating idleness and bureaucratism, speeding up socialist construction and guaranteeing the independence of the Soviet state. There is a close relationship between bureaucratism and idleness on the one hand and overstaffing on the other hand. This is an extreme waste and one which must be resolutely struggled against. It concerns the solidarity of the worker-peasant alliance and concerns the future and the fate of the whole nation. We must eliminate from our state administration all of the wasteful practices which are left from czarist Russia and its capitalist bureaucracy. In this way we can maintain the proletarian leadership of the peasants. We also have the potential to rigorously economize and accumulate some savings in order to develop our large machine industry and promote electrification.

Lenin also used the forum of the Communist Internationale to lead the Communist parties of all nations and inform them of the great significance of the administrative streamlining by the Russian Communist Party. On 1 October 1922, Lenin spoke at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Internationale saying, "We are now conducting a study on how to reduce the national budget and streamline the state administration." He strongly emphasized that, "No matter what, we must streamline the state administration, we must economize rigorously. Whatever can be saved should be saved." He wished to use this method to save heavy industry and restore it. If heavy industry is not saved and not restored, "We will be lost and unable to establish an independent nation."

From this it can be seen that Lenin made a direct connection of streamlining the state administration with restoring and developing heavy industry, carrying out national industrialization, protecting national independence, and building a strong socialist state. Lenin suggested two plans for carrying out streamlining of the state administration, overcoming bureaucratism and idleness and eliminating all waste. The first plan was to "Use the method of investigating personnel and investigating actual work to carry on a struggle against the morass of bureaucratism and idleness. " The second plan was to "relentlessly lay off excess personnel, reduce the staff and get rid of those who did not fulfill the Communist Party member obligation of sincerely studying management practices."

China is now in the process of streamlining the administration and it is extremely important to review Lenin's practices on administrative streamlining. We definitely can find important guidance and valuable references in Lenin's guiding ideology, basic plan and methods for streamlining the administration.

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CSO: 4005/831

## PARTY AND STATE

### INFORMATION ON PARTY AND OTHER LEADERS

#### Tie Ying Watches Gymnastics

OW210557 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 82 p 1

[Excerpts] Leading comrades of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government Tie Ying, Zhang Jingtang, Xue Ju, Cui Jian and Liu Yifu and vice mayor of Shanghai Yang Kai [attended a gymnastic tournament on 9 May].

#### Xu Jiatun Attends Festival

OW231102 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 May 82

[Excerpt] Comrade Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee [attended a drama festival].

#### Anhui Cadres in Construction

OW250025 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 May 82

[Excerpts] Responsible comrades in Anhui and Hefei, Zhou Zijian, Yan Youmin, Yang Weiping, (Yuan Zhen), Lan Ganting, Cheng Guanchua, Meng Jiaqin, Meng Fulin, Li Qingquan, (Wu Tan), Wei Anmin, (Jiang Yongliang) and others [participated in construction at a children's palace].

During a break, our station reporter had an interview with Comrade Zhou Zijian. He said: By national standards, the facilities in our province for teenagers and children are somewhat backward. After the enforcement of the measures for planned parenthood, we should pay even greater attention to the well-being of our children.

Construction of the children's palace in Hefei started in December 1980. The total area under construction is 3,127 square meters with a total cost of more than 600,000 yuan for the five-storied building. The top floor is a platform with a fish pond.

Construction work is currently being further intensified so that the palace will officially open its doors to the public before 1 June, International Children's Day.



### Feng Jixin Visits Schools

SK270334 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 CMT 26 May 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporters, responsible comrades of Gansu provincial party, government and army organs, including Feng Jixin, (Guo Hongchao), Zhang Rusan, Liu Haifeng, Zhang Jiangang and Zheng Zhongyuan, and responsible persons from the provincial level units concerned, mass organizations and Lanzhou municipality, on the afternoon of 25 May visited primary schools, kindergartens, nurseries, neighborhood children centers, blind and deaf-mute schools, child welfare institutions and work-study schools throughout Lanzhou municipality to extend regards to children, youths, teachers and workers engaged in child-care activities on the eve of 1 June Children's Day.

On the same afternoon, responsible comrades at all levels in Lanzhou municipality also held discussions with elementary education teachers and personnel engaging in child-care work and presented gift to the children.

### Qiang Xiaochu Visits Athletes

SK210537 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 May 82

[Excerpt] Leading comrades including Qiang Xiaochu, Yu Lin and Liu Yunzhao went to the gymnasium of the provincial physical culture institute.

### North China Music Festival

OW240800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 24 May 82

[Excerpts] Tianjin, May 24 (XINHUA)--An annual North China Music Festival was formally inaugurated yesterday with the opening of "Spring on Hai River" music week in Tianjin.

Acting major of Tianjin Li Ruihuai and chairman of the Chinese Musicians Association Lu Ji spoke at the opening ceremony yesterday. Also present were Chen Weida, first party secretary of Tianjin, Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and Zhou Weizhi, vice-minister of culture.

### Xu Jiatun at Ceremony

OW201754 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 20 May 82

[Excerpts] Nanjing, May 20 (XINHUA)--Nanjing University today celebrated its 80th anniversary with a grand ceremony and a call on teachers and students to carry forward the tradition of scientific approach in study and spirit of research.

Present were Xu Jiatun, chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and first secretary of Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and Hui Yuyu, governor of Jiangsu Province.

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL ORDER, SECURITY STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Make Sure To Effect a Turn for the Better in Social Order and Security"]

[Text] In 1982, we must make sure to take a turn for the better in social order and security. This is an important political task. The people of the whole province must further exert their spirit with full confidence, earnestly do a good job of strengthening social order and security, and create a fine social environment for the construction of the four modernizations.

Doing a good job of strengthening social order and solving the conditions of "disorder" constitute an important aspect of our efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization. The question of order and security is a comprehensive reflection of all social problems. With regard to this "comprehensive disease," we must carry out a "comprehensive cure." Under the unified leadership of the party committees, we must practice the methods of assigning responsibilities to individual units and combining line with staff operations in order to weave the forces of the various fronts and departments into a single strand by adopting measures that coordinate education with administration, the economy, and the law, so as to promote various security protection responsibility systems that are adapted to all situations and thereby implement at the basic level the task of this "comprehensive cure." We must seriously rectify and strengthen urban and rural state organs of power at the basic level in order to give scope to the roles of the residents and the organizations for mediation and for the protection of order, and have problems solved on the spot, so that we can refrain from passing cases of contradictions on to higher levels, incur fewer cases of disputes, arrest fewer people and achieve good social order and security.

Strengthening the education of youths and children is the central link in doing a good job of administering the "comprehensive cure." Party and government organs in all institutions, schools, factories and mines, enterprises, streets, communes and brigades, and mass organizations such as the CYL, trade unions and women's associations should take the education of youths and children as their own incumbent responsibility. Every parent must seek to educate his children as well. He must, in accordance with youths' and children's characteristics, closely and persistently carry out education on love for the motherland, love for the party



and love for socialist and education on the development of our fine revolutionary traditions and the establishment of communist ethics and the Marxist world view, thereby enabling them to cultivate from their very childhood the good habits of loving to study, loving their collectives, loving to labor, emphasizing courtesy, and abiding by discipline and the law.

Administrative and legal organs must take as their goal the effecting of a conspicuous turn for the better in our social order and security, and must do their work well, attending fully to their duties and responsibilities. They must conscientiously implement the party's consistent principle of attacking the minority and of winning over, differentiating and transforming the majority; carry out the basic policy of combining punishment with leniency, with leniency granted to those who are frank, and strict punishment meted out to those who resist; and severely and swiftly punish the extreme minority of criminal elements caught in the act. As for criminal elements in general, they should differentiate their treatment according to the situation and the consequences of their offenses and their attitude toward acknowledging such offenses. They should further strengthen their work on reform through labor and education through labor, improve the quality of educational reform and thus enable the objects of such reform to see their outlets and their bright future and live a new life accordingly.

Building our socialist spiritual civilization, doing a good job of improving our party work style and the people's habits, and doing a good job of our social order and security are big matters toward which the popular will is oriented. With this goal of struggle clearly established, and with the beginning of the new year, we should stress this task and spare no effort in seeing it realized. As long as we combine our revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude, see the formidable nature of our tasks, and at the same time make use of all propitious conditions with full confidence and courageously push forward, we are bound to attain our present goal.

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CSO: 4005/720

## PARTY AND STATE

### STUDY OF MARXIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP THEORY URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Xu He [1776 4421]: "We Must Achieve an Overall Understanding of the Theory of Marx and Engels on Public Ownership"]

[Text] The theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production consists of two parts. We must both study the part on the essence and characteristics of public ownership and earnestly appreciate the part on the steps, methods, avenues and forms by which public ownership is established.

When the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production is discussed, we often hear this kind of argument: It sounds as if Marx and Engels maintained that once the proletariat seizes political power, it can rapidly establish public ownership of the means of production, and this public ownership can be of a high level from the very beginning--that is, with society taking possession of all means of production. This perception, in my opinion, is partial and wrong.

Actually, the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production consists of two parts: one part discusses the essence and characteristics of such public ownership. This centers on the mature form of such public ownership and, setting aside the various specific patterns it adopts in the process of its formation and development, constitutes a generalization carried out in theory, as exemplified by propositions such as, for instance, "society taking possession of all means of production." The other part discusses the steps, methods, avenues and forms by which such public ownership is established. Along with their increasing maturity in theorization and their continued accumulation of experiences of struggle, their discourses in this regard became more and more comprehensive, profound and realistic. Certain principles of these discourses are of great significance to our present-day efforts to build socialism and effect economic reforms. In the past, we paid relatively greater attention to the former part of their discourses, while comparatively lagging behind in our study and research into the latter part.

The steps, methods, avenues and forms Marx and Engels adopted in establishing public ownership of the means of production are very rich in content. Here the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto" are taken as examples. Although these two works are both suggested here as key documents of communism, in terms of their content what they discuss has basically to do with the program of how to establish socialism. They do not have even a single word to say about the question of distribution to each according to his needs. As for how to eliminate private ownership and establish public ownership, as we can see from these books their considerations are very practical and prudent. They also gave serious consideration to the difficulties in realizing this goal and the ways of solving such difficulties. They wrote: "Communist revolution (i.e., socialist revolution--quoter) will not be a revolution limited to one country; it will break out simultaneously in all civilized countries--at least in England, America, France and Germany, that is. How fast this communist revolution is going to develop in each of these countries depends on whether or not that country's industry is more developed, whether or not its accumulated wealth is greater, and whether or not its productive power is higher. Hence, realizing communism in Germany will be slowest and the most difficult to achieve, but the fastest and easiest in England" ("Principles of Communism"). Here, they made a clear division between the two mutually related, yet different, revolutionary tasks: the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and the establishment of the economic aspects of the socialist system thereafter. They held that the latter is a question pertaining to the further "development" of the revolution. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the speed by which socialism is built in a country depends on the developmental level of industry and all productive forces at the time. History has repeatedly proved that this concept of Marx and Engels is entirely correct. But during the past, we somehow erroneously held that, although China is economically backward and because it has been subject to less bourgeois influence, it should have a far easier time than countries like England and America in building socialism.

The "Principles of Communism" states: "Can private ownership be repealed at a single stroke? The answer: No, this is impossible, just as it is impossible for us to expand existing productive forces to the extent necessary for the establishment of a public economy. Therefore, the imminent proletarian revolution, whose signs are already conspicuous, can only gradually transform present society and can repeal private ownership only after considerably means of production necessary for such repeal are created." We see here that Marx and Engels were of the opinion that the maturing of conditions for the proletarian revolution is not the same as the proletariat's being able, after its seizure of political power, to repeal private ownership at a single stroke; in order to realize this task, it must also rely on the further development of productive forces. Precisely basing themselves on such an understanding, they proposed in the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto" a series of transitional principles and programs on how to gradually eliminate private ownership and establish public ownership according to the historical and economic situations in the various countries in Western Europe at the time. Viewed today, certain prescriptions among them are less demanding than some of the steps we adopted in the 1950's when we carried out the three great reforms. Relevant examples are the application of progressive taxation to the bourgeoisie, the elimination of the right to inheritance, etc.

Concerning the question of eliminating classes, Engels wrote around 1875 in his "Documents on Wanderers": "Only when social productive forces develop to a certain stage, to a stage even higher than conditions for our modernization, will it be possible for us to improve our productivity to such a level as to turn the elimination of class differences into real progress, to consolidate such elimination and make it permanent, and at the same time not to cause stagnation or even a decline in the mode of production in society." At that time, it has already been nearly 30 years since the publication of the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto," and the productive forces of the countries of Western Europe had already improved considerably compared to 30 years earlier. But Marx and Engels were of the opinion that, on the basis of the level of the productive forces at that time, it was still not sophisticated enough for the elimination of classes. If one wished to eliminate classes, one would have to create productive forces far more sophisticated than the level already reached at the time. Otherwise, if and when efforts were artificially made in a forced manner to "eliminate" classes, not only would these classes have proven insusceptible to elimination, but even stagnation and decline in social production would have resulted. Today, if we review these discourses in conjunction with the impetuosities we have committed in the course of our socialist revolution and construction, it would be said to be very educational.

If the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership can be said to be based on a high degree of socialization of production or on all the civilization and achievements created during the capitalist period, this would in no way imply the neglect of individual peasants or the neglect of the characteristics brought to the establishment of public ownership by the existence of a large number of individual farming enterprises. The principles broached by Engels in these articles when discussing how German and French peasants had embarked upon the road of public ownership, such as voluntarism, the demonstration of models, and nonexploitation of the peasants, actually also included the idea that the transformation of small-peasant private ownership should not be carried out hastily. In an article written in the 1870's, Marx wrote: "Wherever peasants exist as private landowners in large groups, wherever peasants still more or less occupy most places, like the countries of the West European continent," the proletariat, after seizing political power, should adopt measures to "directly improve the peasants' situation and thereby attract them to the side of the revolution. From the very beginning, these measures should promote the transition of private ownership toward collective ownership and let the peasants realize such transition themselves through the economic path; however, no measures offensive to the peasants should be adopted." This kind of device, put in today's terms, means that "our attitude must be positive, our steps must be steady," we must not be too anxious to see results, and we must not resort to coercion and commandism, and so forth.

From the pertinent discourses of Marx and Engels enumerated above, we can see that their central idea is to emphasize the necessity of establishing public ownership of the means of production gradually, through the development of productive forces. Unless these productive forces are developed, establishment of public ownership is impossible, and if it is forcibly established, it will not become consolidated very well. The level of our productive forces today has been considerably improved compared to that of the early postliberation period. There are

400,000 industrial and transportation enterprises across the country (of which industrial enterprises number 340,000), and the total value of their fixed assets amounts to 328 billion yuan. Agricultural production has also undergone considerable development. Such a material and technical foundation should be said to be quite presentable. But when averaged out according to our total population, it makes us feel everywhere the limitations of our economic strength. Many things which we wish to and should do simply cannot be done, or done very extensively, for the time being. The level of our existing productive forces, generally speaking, remains very backward. Proceeding precisely from this actual situation, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our state has formulated and carried out a series of new economic policies in order to rectify our leftist mistakes of the past in blindly pursuing the question of "larger size and higher degree of public ownership" and of resorting to "a uniform way of dealing with everything" and in order to further perfect and develop our socialist production relations at the present stage. This serves to create anew the necessary conditions for the development of productive forces.

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CSO: 4005/720



## PARTY AND STATE

### HARBIN STEPS UP PUBLIC SECURITY WORK TO FIGHT CRIME

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Zheng Fawei [6774 3127 0251]: Strive To Bring About a Decisive Improvement in Social Order Within This Year"]

[Text] Recently, Comrade Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], first secretary of the provincial committee, and Comrade Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], provincial committee secretary, jointly presided over Harbin Municipality's informal conference on social order. Attending the conference were provincial committee secretaries, Comrade Wang Zhao [3769 6856], second secretary of the Harbin Municipal Committee, leading comrades from a portion of basic-level units of Harbin Municipality, as well as responsible cadres from concerned provincial and municipal departments. The informal conference heard a presentation of the experience of Harbin Municipality's advanced local police stations and subdistrict offices, and reports from the various neighborhoods; analyzed the situation regarding public order in the municipality; and studied measures for bringing about a decisive improvement in social order. Comrades Zhao Dezun and Wang Zhao made statements, and Comrade Yang Yichen gave an important speech.

The conference was of the opinion that Harbin Municipality had done a great deal of work toward rectifying the social order situation, and had accomplished quite a lot, resulting in the appearance of a number of advanced local police stations and subdistrict offices that are doing a good job of their public order work. However, there still has not been any notable improvement in the public order situation; the situation is far worse than it was during the best periods in history; and criminal activities are still quite rampant, seriously affecting the successful carrying out of socialist construction and the safety of people's lives and property. The appearance of these circumstances was brought about by the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of internal conflict, and is the result of the corruption of bourgeois thinking. The Party Central Committee requires us to bring about, this year, a decisive improvement in social order, prevailing customs in society, and party practices. The "three decisive improvements" are absolutely indispensable; party practices are their core; prevailing customs in society are their basis; and social order is their point of emphasis. We must make our point of emphasis prominent. The main symbol of our efforts to bring about a decisive improvement in public order is the slogan "Keep crime down, and be firm and steady in our efforts." We are required

to accomplish a considerably reduction in the occurrence of criminal cases, with the emphasis on bringing down the number of cases of robbery, rape, and burglary; in the wake of the improvement in party practices and the general atmosphere of society [which will follow], the absolute number of juvenile offenders will be greatly reduced, the number of criminal cases relating to public order will be much fewer, order in public places will return to normal, the masses will rouse themselves, relations between the police and the populace will improve, bad people will fear good people, and the masses will have a fundamental sense of security.

The conference pointed out that the prospect of bringing about a decisive improvement in public order in our city within this year is very hopeful, and we should be full of confidence. The entire party's setting about taking charge of spiritual civilization, party practices, practices among the people, and taking charge of comprehensive measures for bringing the situation under control, are the guarantees of our accomplishing a decisive improvement in social order. A stable and unified political prospect, and an ever-better economic situation are necessary prerequisites for rectifying the public order situation. A total mobilization on all fronts, of more and more people who are brave in struggling against criminal elements, is the basis for any improvement in social order. Once basic-level construction and foundation work have been stepped up, and a certain amount of experience in bringing the situation under control has been sought and accumulated, these will be important conditions for doing a good job of public security. In Harbin Municipality this January there was a great reduction in the occurrence of criminal cases compared with December of last year, and that is a very good beginning toward achieving a decisive improvement. Practice has proven that the negative attitude of fearing difficulty and not doing anything about problems is incorrect.

The conference felt that the fundamental problem in achieving a decisive improvement in public order lies in having everyone in the party set about the job, and comprehensively implementing a comprehensive policy for bringing the situation under control, persevering in, first, educating; second, punishing; third, prevention; and fourth, reorganizing the agencies responsible for handling these matters.

First educate; this means that we must step up our ideological political work, make our propaganda more far-reaching, and do a great deal of work on influencing public opinion. Within organizations, enterprises, and schools we must launch a universal program of internal education on party discipline, party practices, party spirit, class struggle, our legal system, and safeguarding secrecy; and this must be an important aspect of the lives of party groups and branches, educating party members, Youth Group members, and workers and staff to serve as models in obeying the law and party discipline, and using the resulting good effect on party practices to bring about a secondary good effect on practices among the people, thus promoting an improvement in social order. Among the masses we must get involved in launching programs of education on spiritual civilization and on obeying the laws and party discipline; establish a number of advanced model examples, and engage in a good deal of propaganda in commending them. We must mobilize the forces of the entire party and society to do a good job of the work of educating youth, educating them to love the motherland, the party, and socialism warmly, establish



a correct view of human life, and cultivate a communist moral character. At present, we must place emphasis on doing a good job of educating young people who have committed some wrongdoing, and conscientiously implement the measures called the "four guarantees," in which the workplace is responsible for the behavior of their workers and staff, neighborhoods are responsible for their residents, schools are responsible for their students, and family elders are responsible for their children, setting up a system of responsibility for helping with this instruction; this will be implemented first among party government organizations, and afterward the people themselves will be responsible for implementing it, so that, with so much assistance, the instruction is certain to be effective. The Communist Youth League must take as the focal point of its work the education of young people who have taken a wrong step in life, students who have dropped out of school, and young people who are waiting for a work assignment. Trade unions must place the education of young workers in the forefront of their political work. Women's organizations, in launching the "five things to be done well" programs of family activities, must place emphasis on taking charge of the education of children.

Second, punish; that is, we must resolutely and severely punish active counter-revolutionary activities and serious criminal activities. The focus of the attack is on murderers, thieves, rapists, bombers, arsonists, as well as other active criminal elements seriously harmful to social order, particularly those among them who are chronic offenders, ringleaders, roving bandits, escaped criminals, and serious criminal elements guilty of committing the "two waylayings and one breaking in" [mugging, rape and burglary]. As for criminal elements engaged in the illegal activities of smuggling, trafficking and the giving and taking of bribes, we must attack them resolutely and firmly. We must get a great momentum going, propagandize about our legal system, strike fear into the heart of the enemy, arouse the masses to action, spread out a network covering heaven and earth so that bad people have no place to hide themselves, and repress this swelling arrogance on the part of criminal elements.

Third, prevent; that is, strengthen the system of controls throughout society. Police engaged in public security work must keep up a constantly rotating series of shifts, night and day, and step up patrols in important areas; all workplaces must augment their shift systems, with emphasis on doing a good job of keeping guard over the safety of strategic places and the "three storehouses"; residents' organizations must assign public security personnel to keep watch over entranceways and prevent fire and theft; we must mobilize our forces in each and every area, organize workers into disciplinary patrols, divide up the work and assign a part to each group, persevere in these tasks throughout the year, patrol day and night, and maintain public security and order.

Four, reorganize; that is, reorganize our basic-level organizations and the ranks or our political and legal functionaries. At present, we must educate cadres to correctly understand the effect of the state's political power function; conscientiously step up the work of the subdistrict offices; and universally assign people's government assistants and judiciary assistants. In the city we must organize a number of cadres to form work organizations, to go deeply into the basic levels and truly carry out reorganization and reinforcing of residents'

committees, order and protection committees, and mediation committees, so as to do a good job of basic reorganization within this year. We must recruit old party members, cadres and workers to direct the "three organizations" [residents', security and mediation committees], having it as their sole duty and responsibility to make a new contribution toward the "three decisive improvements." We must carry out a reorganization of the ranks of political and legal personnel ideologically, organizationally, and with respect to practices; reorganize, and increase the staff of all levels of leading bodies; commend excellent police personnel; and conscientiously rectify certain instances of opportunism, perversion of the law, and demanding special privileges, thus greatly improving the relationship between the police and the people. In our reorganization, there is the specific and the general; these should be combined together, and we should proceed by apportioning the work among shifts and groups.

The crux of striving for a decisive improvement in social order is having the party committees concentrate on this work--and concentrating on the party committees. Party committees must become thoroughly and personally involved in the work of public order; secretaries in charge must do everything possible to go to places to take charge; other secretaries and standing committee members must take charge of the front in their areas of responsibility, with systems of responsibility set up at each level. Each and every individual and every front and mass organization must take charge of the work of the "three decisive improvements," put into effect coordination between the central and local authorities, and enable the system of responsibility to be implemented at the lower levels. Organizations directly subordinate to the province or the municipality, enterprises and workplaces, and specialized schools of higher education in the course of reorganizing their social order work must all proceed according to the arrangements of the local party committees' leaders and the public security organizations. The party committees' taking charge of social order work means, primarily, taking charge of the implementation of the appropriate guiding principles and policies; taking charge of a unified deployment and implementation that is comprehensive enough to bring the problems under control; and taking charge of the promulgation of our representative experience. If Harbin Municipality promulgates the experience of Donglai and Liushun local police stations, and Fushun and Dazhai subdistrict offices, in getting a good hold on basic work and instructing young people, then within the year over one-third of the local police stations and subdistrict offices will reach or approach the level of success of Donglai station and the Fushun Street office.

Harbin is the political, economic and cultural center of the entire province, and whether its public order situation is good or bad has a decisive effect on the entire province. The conference requested that Harbin's work of rectifying the city's public order show results within a short period of time, so as to serve as a good example for the entire province.

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CSO: 4005/735

## PARTY AND STATE

### HUNGARY GIVES MORE POWER TO ENTERPRISES

OW161155 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1534 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May (XINHUA)--The Hungarian Council of Ministers adopted on 13 May a series of new regulations to further restrict the functions and powers of higher-level leading organs and custodial organs of enterprises and to grant more decision-making powers to enterprises.

According to previous regulations, any enterprise in Hungary must get the finance minister's approval for the purchase of any privately owned real estate whose price exceeds a certain limit; it was up to the minister concerned to decide the material remuneration to a staff member or worker of an enterprise who goes on a tour at home or abroad on official business; and the time schedules of various enterprises for the period between Christmas and New Year were also decided by higher-level organs. The new regulations provide that from now on the enterprises themselves will have the power to make decisions concerning all these matters. The new regulations also include provisions for cutting down the statistical data and reports an enterprise is required to submit to higher-level organs, simplifying the rules pertaining to labor matters and eliminating the mediation role custodial organs play between an enterprise and its leading organ.

The Hungarian press notes that the purpose of the new regulations is to further expand the independence of enterprises. At the same time, they also enable leading and custodial organs to do away with some unnecessary routine and administrative work and focus efforts on providing essential and principled guidance to the enterprises.

In the past (?2) years the Hungarian Government has been actively studying the question of how to further expand the decision-making powers of enterprises so as to mobilize their initiative. Specially for this purpose, it has set up a "coordination committee for the examination of enterprise organization" headed by the finance minister. In the past 2 years this committee has laid stress on examining the work of the higher-level leading organs and the custodial organs of enterprises and revised a number of relevant regulations in an effort to gradually eliminate the restrictions put on the decision-making powers of enterprises. At present this work is still being continued.

CSO: 4005/914

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

JIANGXI WOMAN LEADER DIES--Xu Min, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress, member of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee and member of the fourth All-China Women's Federation Executive Committee, died of a heart attack on 9 May 1982 in Tianjin at the age of 65. She was on her way to Beijing for a meeting of the executive committee of the All-China Women's Federation. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 May 82 OW]

SHANGHAI MEMORIAL MEETING--Comrade (Yang Tao), former deputy party secretary and deputy director of the Shanghai Municipal Broadcasting Bureau, died of cancer on 10 May 1982, at the age of 65. A memorial meeting was held for him in Shanghai on 18 May. (Wu Jian), deputy director of the propaganda department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, officiated at the meeting. (Zhou Huaiyang), director of the Shanghai Municipal Broadcasting Bureau, delivered a eulogy. (He Yixiang), deputy commander of the Nanjing PLA units, and leading comrades of the propaganda department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee were present at the meeting. Rao Shoukun, commander of the (?North China Sea Fleet); (Zhang Weixiang), deputy political commissar of the PLA navy; Xie Zhenghao, commander of the East China Sea Fleet; (Zhang Chaozhong), commander of the South China Sea Fleet; and the East China Sea Fleet Headquarters sent wreaths. [OW191405 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 18 May 82 OW]

CSO: 4005/913

PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF CHINESE COLLEGE STUDENTS DISCUSSED

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [IDEOLOGICAL FRONT] in Chinese 20 Dec 81 pp 14-19

[Article by Wu Song [0702 2646]: "Tentative Discussion of the Current Psychological Features of the College Students of Our Country"]

[Text] People of different age groups have different psychological features, even though living in the same era, as people of the same age group living in different periods of time have different psychological features. The different psychological features have a direct influence and controlling effect on the ideology, words and deeds of different people. If the ideological political work among the young students is to be rendered more scientific, abundant attention must be paid to the role of their psychological factors, recognizing and gaining a good command of their psychological features. It is for this reason that the present article attempts to give a brief analysis and presents some superficial viewpoints on the current psychological features of the college students of our country (mainly concerning the older students).

The Subjective and Objective Conditions Shaping the Psychological Features of the College Students

Psychological behavior of man is conditioned by a variety of factors. As Engels expressed it: "Everything that activates man has of necessity to pass through his brain, but what form this 'everything' assumes in the brain of man is determined to a very large extent by a variety of circumstances."<sup>1</sup> According to scientific psychology, the mind reflects subjectively the objective world; it is the result of the subjective and objective in mutual interaction. Generally speaking, the shape and development of things in man's mind is therefore determined by both subjective and objective conditions. The subjective conditions are the changes and developments in man's body and mind; the objective conditions are the changes and variations in his social surroundings and their effect on man. Because "in actual fact, each mental image of the world system is always limited, in objective respects, by the historical situation and, in subjective respects, by the physical and mental condition of the man receiving the mental image,"<sup>2</sup> in order to analyze the current psychological features of the college students it is therefore necessary for us to clarify the subjective and objective conditions that have shaped their psychological features.



Youth is man's golden age of flourishing vitality delimited by certain years of his life. Every man who develops into this youthful period attains the physiological maturity in the development of his organs, the basic perfection of the structure and functions of his brain, the fastest increase in brain cell activity, a great increase in the regulatory effect of the second signal system on the higher nervous activity, a rapid increase in the capacity of the central nervous system, an increasingly robust skeleton and a high developed intensity of energy. Connected with these developments is his gradual breaking away from the guardianship of his parents and other adults and a tendency toward taking the initiative and toward independence. His way of thinking, memory, ideals, beliefs, values, will, interests, temperament, etc., are in the process of being rapidly developed and shaped, and especially his elevated capacity for thinking can already use abstract logical structures and carry on his own cognitive activities. In gaining understanding of things, the youth will therefore not limit himself to the perception of his five senses, nor to a mere understanding of the outer phenomena directly perceived, but will have a strong thirst for knowledge and eagerness to arm his own mind with the fruits of all the accumulated knowledge of mankind. He will furthermore strive to penetrate consciously into the inner aspects of things to learn the nature and characteristic features of things and expose the essential distinctions and inner links between things. His inner sentimental experiences will be sustained, manifesting a state of mind and also a certain self-control. This is a developmental stage of college students that is the same for youths in general, but different from the psychological development of young people at an earlier age.

However, there are certain differences if we compare college students with youths of a relatively low educational level of the same time. College students have comparatively ample knowledge of science and general subjects. Due to their study and mastering of various aspects of general knowledge, the level to which their capability of thinking has developed is, comparatively speaking, somewhat higher. They also think faster and the ability for theoretical thinking has obviously been fostered and trained in an excellent study environment. The natural gift of abstract logical thinking has already become a real activity practiced by college students who, as a result, are of a conspicuously more independent spirit when compared with youths in general. Lenin once said: "College students are a group of highly susceptible intellectuals, and the reason that intellectuals are called intellectuals is that they have the highest degree of awareness and most thoroughly and most correctly reflect and manifest the development of class interest of the entire society and the development of political factions."<sup>3</sup> It is for these reasons that the spiritual development of college students differs from that of youths in general.

This "bodily condition and spiritual condition" of the college students is the subjective condition for their distinctive psychological life process, from which possibly their distinctive way of thinking and their awareness is derived.

"However, if you take it a step further and ask: What, after all, are thought and consciousness, and where do they come from, then you will discover that both are products of man's brain, and furthermore, that people themselves are a product of nature, and develop not only within their environment, but also along with it."<sup>4</sup>

The psychology of the college students is also developed in the environment of their lives and in close company with their environment, and is controlled by the social history in which they grew up.

Our present college students entered college after the system of entrance examinations for admission to colleges and universities had been reinstituted. The party and the government are today providing them with excellent study and living environments, but their past was lived in the turbulent 10 years. Among them are some who had been Red Guards, fully of fiery excitement, had left the classrooms, moved into society, established contacts with other groups, taken part in this or that movement, and, imperceptibly influenced by what they have been constantly seeing and hearing, have engaged in the so-called rebelling and seizure of power and in exposure, criticism and struggle. Some of them had been mobilized to go up to the mountains and down to the countryside, moving into the border areas and villages of our fatherland and experiencing being tempered by great hardship and exacting trials. Still others have participated in the famous 5 April movement. Ten years of turmoil have robbed them of valuable time when they were in their formative years. The changes in society have given them personal experiences, some favorable, some adverse, some ruinous, some viable. All this has left a deep imprint in their hearts. While they are now thirsting for book knowledge, they are also very sensitive to the various problems of society. They fervently support the great strategic decision of shifting the focus of the party's work, and are extremely concerned about the prospects of our fatherland and the fate of mankind. They are extremely troubled by the fact that certain cadres still to this day harbor unhealthy tendencies and that various bad customs manifest themselves in society. Another thing is that due to the opening of our country to foreign relations, their field of vision has been broadened. The speedy economic, scientific and technological progress in many foreign countries is being acclaimed by them as the acme of perfection, and as a consequence they are burning with impatience to effect a change in the backward condition of our country.

"Man creates the environment, but, similarly, the environment creates man."<sup>5</sup> If we compare the present college students with those of the fifties, there is a striking difference in their environment. The college students of the fifties were deeply aware of the suffering and misery of the old society. The present college students were born in the new society and grew up in times of upheaval and transformation. Comparatively speaking, they have had fairly broad experiences and their ability for independent thinking is very high. Marx and Engels once pointed out: "Man's ideas, standpoints and concepts, in one word, man's consciousness changes following the changes in man's living conditions, man's living conditions, man's social relations and his social existence,"<sup>6</sup> "and man's existence in fact is his actual life process."<sup>7</sup> The life process of the present college students constitutes the objective condition of their psychological life.

#### The Psychological Peculiarity of College Students

The above-stated objective and subjective sides of the conditions determine the psychological life of the present college students, and it is furthermore a fact that the psychological peculiarities, such as cognition, ideals, sentiments, will, have been shaped by these conditions.



Regarding cognition, the independent nature of thought and its creativity is especially obvious. In youth, the development of their own individual selves compels youths to turn their eyes to themselves, to look back on themselves, to get to know themselves, explore their own inner world, but at the same time they direct their eyes toward society, observe society, get to know society and reflect on social questions. This is a new reorientation of the self-consciousness of youths. In the course of the reorientation, the effect of the subjective and objective conditions will not let their self-consciousness remain satisfied with the directions of their heads of family or the knowledge imparted by their teachers, will not be satisfied with the views propagated in the press and in books, they will not merely echo the views of others and not easily believe things not tried out in their own practical experiences. They will always approach human life and social questions with reflections based on the knowledge and experience that they themselves have acquired, thus manifesting their outstanding peculiarity of independence and creativity.

As they look back on their own selves, they discover that they squandered their time during the 10 years of turmoil and are deeply conscious of their lack of knowledge in so many respects. Then again, beholding the present with the excellent study conditions that they have gained, they feel fortunate and well pleased. They are therefore making their entrance into the university a new starting point in their lives, striving to cast off the selves of the past, gain independence from the past state of benighted ignorance and naive devotions that had them fall victim to deceit and become duped, now to come out into a state of independence and ability to build up new selves. Hence they take Yu Luohe [6657 5012 0344] and Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] as their models, with courage to reflect, ardently exploring and upholding the truth. They yearn for science and democracy and thirst for the freedom to roam a world of socialist democracy.

With regard to society, they eagerly reflect on the structure of society and its essential character from the overall view of all its political, economic, educational and other aspects, and explore the country's prospects and the future of society. They bitterly hate the extreme leftist line which had plunged our society into a great calamity and urgently demand reform of the malpractices of our time, linking the prospects of our fatherland and the fate of every individual to the success of these reforms. They want to promote and raise China; it is their aspiration to make China into a prosperous land and a strong nation. The college students therefore generally support the line, principles and policies of the party since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. From the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, they furthermore gain the knowledge that the party's excellent traditions and workstyle of seeking truth from facts and being brave in criticism and self-criticism is now being promoted and developed to a higher stage.

In the course of gaining a better understanding of their selves and of society, the college students display the special feature of independence of thought and also manifest the creativity of thought. The creativity of thought is becoming particularly evident in the study activities of the present college students. In general, students at the college stage, due to the specialization of study, will

have their thoughts limited to the area within the discipline they are studying, leading to a decrease of thinking in broad terms and a greater concentration of thought; however, in the case of the present college students, due to the effect of the course their actual lives have taken--this is an objective condition--they will still be affected by a tendency of an expansive way of thinking after they enter the university, even though it may decrease to some extent. Due to this expansive way of thinking and the development of their imagination, also their greater capacity for concentrated thinking, the present college students are capable of displaying the special feature of creativity in certain questions. It is only that the range of knowledge of the present college students is rather narrow, their understanding of Chinese history, of the world situation and of the basic theories of Marxism is very limited, and it is therefore unavoidable that certain confusion may arise at times in their independent reflections.

In their ideals (a special form of imagination) they pay attention to the present, but also take a broad view of the future. The present college students of our country, as youths in general, may pay much attention to material benefits. They detest the politics of empty promises and the ascetism preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They have their physiological needs, hope to improve their living conditions and live more comfortably, and at the same time also have their psychological needs, such as satisfying their self-esteem, gain recognition, happiness, etc. Most of them hope to do well in their studies and achieve excellent results. Some hope to be able to achieve a breakthrough in the specialty they are studying or in the special line they are fond of, gaining a certain achievement in certain problems. Some also have the ambition to pass the examination for research fellowships and seek to be permitted to pursue advanced studies after graduation. They perceive themselves as the future theoreticians, literary personalities, scientists and men of action. This shows that the college students have much of their minds on the material benefits, however, though most of them pay attention to material benefits, they also lay plans for the future. They pursue realistic benefits, but also pursue achievements in enterprises.

In actual life the college students often experience a conflict between the demand for material benefits and the possibility of realizing them. During such times when they cannot yet, for the time being, fully satisfy their needs for material benefits, their social understanding will continuously deepen and the patriotism, generally common among college students, together with self-respect and self-confidence will grow stronger, so that most of them will be able to sublimate these needs in the intense study and living environment of the university as psychological needs and pursuits of their undertakings, and thus will gain psychological and spiritual satisfaction. They will therefore devote themselves wholeheartedly to their particular specialized studies; they will be brimming with fervor for future achievements, and the pursuit of their psychological needs will by far surpass the pursuit of physiological needs. Their deep innermost feelings, the discovery of their own vitality and the successes in their undertakings will bring them pleasures much more lasting and of a much more abundant significance than the temporary satisfaction of the senses. This is linked with their reflections on society, the state and human life, and is also closely linked with their

special psychological features in the field of cognition, precisely as Engels pointed out: "The influence of the outside world shows in man's mind, is reflected in man's mind, is turned into feelings, thoughts, motives of action and will, and, in short, is turned into 'ideal intentions,' and furthermore, through these formations, is transformed into 'ideal force'."<sup>8</sup>

As to their feelings, their abundant emotions gradually turn into noble sentiments. Due to the continuous accumulation of knowledge and its mastery, and their alert and nimble thinking process, the stimulations and depressions in their central nervous system further intensify and tend to arrive at an equilibrium, which is also due to their life experiences and the emotional wealth of the present university life. The innermost personal experiences of most of them have stabilized somewhat, as has their ability to maintain a clear-headed and calm attitude in the face of external irritations, even the capacity to control fairly strong irritations. The majority of the students show ease of mind, breadth of mind, an exhilarating straightforwardness, vigor and vitality and strength, and yet also a certain moderation in their actions. All these characteristics then gradually shape their intellectual, moral and esthetic mood.

Mood is composed of high-grade emotions of complexity and continuity and also of intellectual character. The mood of our country's present college students is now in the process of a conscious and unconscious formation and development. The formation and development of their mood does not only depend on the quantity of their knowledge, but is also related to the moral, esthetic and psychological education given them in their homes, schools and by society, as it is also related to individual self-cultivation and life experiences. This is so because "every change in a person's life teaches him many things, makes him experience and feel many things."<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the majority of college students who have grown up in socialist China already has an initial intellectual, moral and esthetic mood.

Generally speaking, in real life, the present college students are already capable of using their intelligence to adjust their own emotions. In contact with whomever and whatever, most of them are capable of using practical experiences as criteria to effect intelligent assessments and adduce logical proof, capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood and take on themselves the responsibility to explore the truth, discover the truth and uphold the truth. This is the mood of reason. It gradually deepens in the student's process of acquiring knowledge and is nurtured and shaped in the course of the continuous accumulation and growth of knowledge. As for the socialist moral norms and standards for action, the college student will be in the initial stage of continuously internalizing them as his own psychological demands, and as the next step will have his own actions conform to these psychological demands which he has internalized (and will not be merely responding to the pressure of external public opinions). By applying the said standards he will evaluate his own actions and the actions of others, will initially build up a certain moral character and will be able to observe whether such actions will be a comfort and joy to his conscience or reason for censure and shame; the former is good and the latter bad. This kind of examination in one's heart during the evaluation of actions and their morality is the moral mood which they are forming and developing. As for the esthetic appreciation, with college students this gradually deepens in content and its range also gradually broadens. The majority

of them already begin to show an ability to integrate outer and inner beauty. They gradually strive for a harmonious unity of external beauty and spiritual beauty and strive for unity of form, ideological content and social content. They will experience pleasure at beauty and dislike the ugly. This kind of exquisite and noble sentiment, which is born in the active appreciation of beauty, is the esthetic mood which they are now in the process of forming.

With regard to their will, they have made striking progress in self-control, aim-consciousness and determination, but stability is not perfect. Will is man's psychological process of consciously establishing an objective and directing his actions toward the realization of the set objective. College students are just in the formative years of their will; compared with middle school and elementary school students, their inner self-control has obviously grown stronger. In their studies they are capable of consciously directing their own activities; they have a certain willpower, they have determination and perseverance in attaining the objective they have set for themselves. However, due to the wide-ranging interests college students in general have, their many hobbies and also due to social reasons, the objectives of some frequently change, and some are even not clear about their objectives. Wide-ranging interests and specialized interests are hard to combine. Some change their minds as soon as they see something new; at one time they want to do this and at another time they want to do that. In certain fields of science, some encounter difficulties in their studies and lose confidence; some do not want to continue to exert efforts, or even drop out half way. Some are not feeling at ease with their specialization from beginning to end and lack willpower and enthusiasm. Engels pointed out: "Men create their own history by each individual pursuing his own consciously hoped-for aim, but regardless of what the final outcome of this kind of history might be, still the many aspirations acting in different directions and the effect resulting from these various kinds of influences on the outer world, that is history. The question therefore is what the aspirations of these different people are. Aspirations are determined by intense emotions or deliberations and the levers that directly control the emotions and deliberations are of all kinds and forms. Some are possibly things of the external world, some are possibly spiritual motives, such as ideas of honor and rank, 'zeal for truth and righteousness,' personal dislike, or even purely individual eccentricity."<sup>10</sup> Due to this great variety of reasons, the college students may be rapidly developing the various facets of their volition in their formative years, but will not yet have reached the final and ultimate setting, still maintaining a certain moldability.

In the above we have described such aspects as cognition, ideals, emotions and will that, in general, make up the special psychological features of our present college students.

#### The Psychological Development of College Students

As our present college students undergo the formation of the above-stated special psychological features, the main trend and essential character of the process is good, but they also display a great variety of tendencies which we must take note of and on which we must get a good hold.



The mental initiative and independence of thinking in their thoughtful examination of society and human life is a positive attitude. If they form their own independent opinions in all questions, we must admit, this is a good thing. It is the independent thinking which is precisely the precondition and basis for the creativity of thinking. In this respect Lenin once pointed out: "If our young people do not show an abundant independent character, they will not be able to temper themselves to become outstanding socialists, nor will they be able to lead the advance of socialism."<sup>11</sup> However, in the process of their independent development, it is possible that the college students take an incorrent direction in their development. On the one hand, "because the college students are a group of highly susceptible intellectuals," whatever current of thought or factions there might be in society, the same currents of thought and factions may emerge among the college students. In their process of gaining an understanding, the bourgeois ideas of liberalization and anarchism may find a certain response among particular college students. In their call for "democracy" and "freedom," they confuse at times democracy and freedom with anarchism and liberalism, and as a consequence some take a course that leads them from psychological freedom to a denial of the four basic principles; they are full of grievances reasoned only on the basis of their own consciousness and their own circumstances, and an extremely small minority go even so far as to regard the past mistakes of the party and the dark sides of society as sufficient reason to attempt to cripple the leadership of the party or break away from it altogether. On the other hand there are also some who are deluded by the lifestyle of the Western bourgeoisie into a blind idolization of foreign countries, and, one step further, into a denial of the superiority of the socialist system. A fairly large number of people do not understand the dialectic relationship between reform and readjustment and overlook the fact that reform must be carried out on the basis of a period of recuperation and on stability and unity; they will therefore easily develop an extremist disposition and lack prudent attitudes toward men and affairs. This explains that in the case of the independent nature of development to be enjoyed by our young students, we must respect their independence and self-esteem, "but we must also stand for our full freedom to express our comradely criticism of their mistakes! We must not try to ingratiate ourselves with our youths."<sup>12</sup> We must guide their independence to developing in the right direction, and have them build up a firm confidence in the four basic principles.

In their approach to the question of material benefits and ideals, some students have possibly completely fallen for the material benefits and attach importance only to their personal benefits of the moment, or even end up as proponents of individualism. These men do not understand that there is a unity between these three, the individual interests, the interests of the collective and the interests of the state, and also do not understand that individualism and collectivism stand in opposition to each other. As a consequence they believe that the state and the people owe them much and they do not realize the responsibility that they themselves must bear toward the state and the people. Some people may also pay attention only to ideals. Immersed in petty bourgeois fantasies, they will not revise their plans according to actual conditions and their own conditions, all the time allowing their fancy to run wild, without serious consideration for the study of basic knowledge and the training in basic skills, setting their target too high, but achieving little, for a lack of real content and a viable foundation.

This explains that in dealing with the question of the relationship between material benefits and ideals, we must provide guidance and help, have them integrate ideals with realities, establishing a unity of the individual interests with the interests of the collective and the state so that the individual must submit to the needs of the state and of society.

In the formation and development of their emotions, the college students possess an initial measure of intelligence, morality and esthetic values, but they still need further development and consolidation, and furthermore not all college students are thus endowed. Some lack intelligence and always take "self" as a standard in their entire outlook. They cannot engage in an intelligent deliberation, their intelligence cannot control their emotions, the polarized nature of their feelings and their impulsiveness are very obvious and on meeting by chance some improper or somewhat forceful irritation, their inner elation and restraints get out of balance, violent feelings or impetuous manners erupt and may even end in action that violates the social morality. This is what is lack of intelligence. There are also some who lack moral values; they cannot distinguish between good and bad, and even if they obey the moral norms and standards of behavior of society, it is also only temporary and completely due to the pressure of public opinion, and not that they have formed a firm moral character. In the area of esthetics, there is also a minority of people who have not formed their esthetic values; they are only pursuing external beauty, do not seek spiritual beauty and blindly pursue the Western lifestyle. It is true, each person may make his own selections in dress, etc., according to his own interests, likes and economic conditions, but some people turn to whatever is "fashionable," dress as they see others dress up, little realizing that people are different and ending up in blind imitation with ludicrous effects, certainly the opposite of beautiful. At the developmental stage of their emotions, the young students must therefore be given an education in ethical principles and esthetics as well as a psychological education, which will nurture in them a healthy mentality so that they will consciously pay attention to their mental health and acquire a diversity of lofty values.

At the formative stage of their volition some students show a shilly-shally state of mind; they are irresolute, not at ease with their specialization; they have the mentality of having "entered the right door, but gone the wrong road." They have the most ambitious ideals, but fail to make a tenacious effort; they have skyhigh intentions, but lack the spirit for solid work, etc. These cases require patient and meticulous education of a scientific nature to awaken their interest, starting out from the purpose of studies and the needs of society, thus arousing their inner motivation and strengthening it continuously, guiding them to a perfect integration of their broad interests with the determination to specialize in a certain field, establishing an organic unity of the broad and the special, so that the task will be accomplished to full satisfaction.

On the question of their assignment after graduation, some students are headstrong, possibly because of the inflexibility of their ambitions. Some students only take their own self as the point of departure and do not take the needs of the state and the expectations of the people into account. They will want to obey only such work assignments that suit their own wishes, and will not obey what goes against their wishes. They will remain self-opinionated and go only the one way they had in mind. It is therefore still necessary in the matter of assignments after

graduation to carry out education in the nurturing of determination. As far as possible consideration should be given to the actual conditions of the graduate and his special qualifications, but at the same time he should be assisted in making his request in accordance with the needs of the party and the state, in resolutely revising his own objectives according to the objective situation and in turning the demands of the party and the state into the subjective needs of the individual. He must be made to attach importance to the overall situation, since ambitions can be fulfilled everywhere. He must be made to overcome and prevent stubbornness and to firmly and resolutely obey the state's assignment.

The famous Soviet educator A.S. Makarenko once said: "No matter how perfect man may appear in a most abstract concept of our mind, as a target of education man actually is material of an extraordinarily great variety of types and kinds, and the 'product' created by us will also be very diverse. The general character and the individual character can, in our planning, be formed into intricate and complex patterns." He goes on to say: "The greatest danger is to dread this complexity and diversity. A fear of this kind may manifest itself in two forms: one form is to strive to treat all men equally without discrimination, to force all men into one standard mold of uniform type. The other form of this fear is to passively follow every single individual and hopelessly attempt to deal with the mass of millions of students with methods solely fit to treat single individuals piecemeal."<sup>13</sup> In carrying out ideological political education among our college students, we must also not fear the complexity and diversity of their psychological state. We must not rely on some abstract preachings and devise only one single work method, but rather recognize and grasp their special psychological features and developmental direction, adopt a variety of methods and under the premise of making clear that an enlightened and correct socialist educational policy is to firmly strengthen the correct political direction, and under the further premise of persisting in integrating education with the social realities, and finally under the premise of nurturing workers who are well-developed in all aspects--morally, intellectually, physically and esthetically--and who possess socialist consciousness and culture, we must recognize and encourage our young students in self-cultivation and development of their vigorous individuality. There is a unity of individuality and the socialist nature; individuality formed under the conditions of socialism is a particular manifestation of the socialist nature and constitutes the diversity of socialism. In order to protect the common interests, society must have a uniform law, uniform ethics and a uniform education as norms for individual action, but the development of society also requires men of a great variety of skills to serve society. To achieve social prosperity, society must therefore encourage individual men to develop their own healthy individuality. It is the responsibility of society to create ever more conditions and to provide ever more alternatives to choose from for individuals to develop their individualities. It is the responsibility of the individual to develop his individuality for service to society under the premise of obeying the norms of society. In order to develop the positive individuality of our students so that they may better serve society, we must integrate teaching and learning and carry out ideological political education of different forms and of different content so as to nurture a large number of talents who will be pillars of the state in the building of our four modernizations.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 245.
2. Ibid., Vol 3, p 76.
3. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 7, p 30.
4. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 74.
5. Ibid., Vol 1, p 43.
6. Ibid., Vol 1, p 270.
7. Ibid., Vol 1, p 30.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 228.
9. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 115.
10. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 243-244.
11. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 164.
12. Ibid., Vol 23, p 164.
13. A. S. Makarenko, "On Communist Education," People's Educational Publishing Company, 1962, p 40.

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CHALLENGE TO WORSHIP OF WAR DISCUSSED; MAO VILIFIED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 3, Mar 82 pp 87-91

[Article by I Kuo [2496 6665]: "The Daring Challenge Against War Worship--A Discussion Starting with the Criticism of the Poem 'The General and the Soldier'"]

[Text] "The General and the Soldier," by Li Jianzhao [2621 7003 6856]:

A magnificent  
Medal  
Decorated with designs,

They  
Are the bloodstains  
On the soldier's body;

A towering  
Honorific monument  
Inscribed with words of praise,

They  
Were written by the bones  
Of the brave soldier;

The medal  
Worn  
On the general's chest,

The honorific monument  
Stands erect  
Beside the general's grave;

The blood and bones of the soldier  
Decaying in the mud  
Have long been forgotten....

The beautiful "spring city" of Qunming has recently been caught by the tide of criticism of liberalization. This provincial capital, which had fostered a group of scholars in the 1940's, including Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1380] and Li Zhengdao [2621 2398 6670], and had produced a number of "rightists" in the 1950's, including Bai Hua [4101 2901] and Gong Liu [0361 0491], published a poem entitled "The General and the Soldier" in BIANJIANG WENYI in December 1980. Unexpectedly, this short, unastonishing poem caused a great stir, creating "strong disgust throughout the country, and particularly in the army." After its key points were criticized within the province and the army, and after criticism was made by name throughout the country, it was "destroyed by one stroke of the stick"--unlike questionable works such as "Unrequited Love," which took several twists and turns and underwent discussions. Not only did the author have no opportunity to strike back; no one spoke out for him against injustice. If we regard the Bai Hua incident as somewhat comical, the fate of this poem would be almost like the "Essay on Grass and Trees" of a quicksand river, which was purely a tragedy.

Such experience is seldom seen in the literary and art criticism movement of China in 1981. After reading this poem we will be able to see that:

This is an antiwar poem that reveals the inhuman nature of war.

#### A Seldom-seen Criticism

Less than a month after the poem was published, YUNNAN RIBAO carried Su Ce's [5685 4595] critical essay "A Critique of 'The General and the Soldier'," which was shortly republished in the Beijing WENYI BAO.

The weight of Su Ce's essay is serious; its tone is likened to that of a verdict which allows no contest. He asserts that the author of the poem "cursed and distorted the relationship between officers and men in our army." He also questions the author: "Why does the author depict the close relationship between officers and men in our army as so horrifying, antagonistic and unconciliatory?" He says: "This poem has a total of 21 lines. Its artistic standard is beyond question, but its ideology is so simplistic and blatant. I really do not believe there is anyone who does not clearly see what its language, implication and spearhead are pointing at."

In this way, Su Ce limits what the author refers to as the relationship between officers and men in general to a definite scope, namely the scope of the PLA, and orders the author to explain the motive for his writing. This form of criticism, which restricts someone's activities to a designated area and gains the initiative by striking first, was a common occurrence in past movements and has the effect of allowing the opponent no chance for defense. Particularly when accusing literary form which is relatively implicit, it can be wantonly raised to the higher plane of principle and two-line struggle.

The crudeness of Su Ce's criticism of this poem is not only revealed in his utter lack of discussion. His complete denial of what the poem says is a priori; it is not the result but the prerequisite of analysis (except that he did not dare to be as overbearing as was common in the past). Moreover, nowhere in his entire

essay did he mention the author's name. Not that he had the magnanimity of "concerning oneself with facts and not with individuals," but [his attitude] is derived entirely from his contempt of the author, fully showing that he did not treat the author as "a comrade who has made a mistake." His innermost mind had already decided to criticize this poem for its nature of "contradiction between ourselves and the enemy." The "ill omen" revealed by his words was not present in the criticism of any other writers, including Bai Hua, Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513] and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]. (The only thing that can compare to is probably is Huang Gang's [7806 6921] major critique of "Unrequited Love.")

Another difference is that Su Ce uses his own name in his essay, but in style he assumes the air of a military leader and speaks like a "general." It is somewhat overbearing, which Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] did not dare to do when he criticized Bai Hua.

### The First Antiwar Literary Work in Communist China

Why did such a seldom seen, overbearing manner appear in the criticism of this poem?

Clearly, it is because the author has touched on what has so far been a sacred, inviolable and forbidden zone. The "sun" god had to be shaken because he left many poor marks, and public resentment had been enormous, but as for the red god of war--recognized as the fountain of all well-being that brought revival and liberation to the Chinese people--no one has thought of disturbing it; at least we have not seen anyone doing it so far.

If Mao Zedong had not negated and wiped out everything, and if there had been anything left for him to worship, it would be the worship of war--of force. He de-cleared over 40 years ago: "Someone laughed at us that ours is the 'theory of the omnipotence of war.' True, we are believers in the omnipotence of revolutionary wars. This is not bad; it is good, and is from Marxism." On this point Mao's deeds were as good as his words. The highest possible praise for revolutionary wars, the special emphasis on the military function of machines in the state, and the absurd experiments with using the methods of war to solve the problems of economic construction can all be proven by countless facts during the past 20 years in Communist China.

The specific rationality and necessity of a just, revolutionary war of force will not be denied by materialists. Sometimes they even have the role of compelling the advance of history. However, do they have a dual character? Are they all-powerful and do they deserve to be praised to the heart's content without reservation? Do pacifism and antiwar ideology have positive significance? Are Mao Zedong's views on war the "absolute" truth of the Chinese revolution? In commenting on socialist antiwar literature, it is impossible not to touch on these questions, which strongly relate to the destiny of mankind. We can first look at the conditions in the Soviet Union.

Having undergone fascist invasion, and after the great war of national defense, the people of the Soviet Union--a developing socialist society--realized what a heavy price they had paid for this just and holy war. Because of the high number of

deaths, the male-to-female ratio in postwar Moscow and Leningrad was 1 to 7 and 1 to 11, respectively. After several years of revival and the rebuilding of their homes, painful memories forced their way into the Soviet literary realm following the death of Stalin. From the 1950's to the 1970's, works using the war of national defense as their subject matter depicted the heroic spirit and extensively depicted the cruelty and barbarism as well as the inhumanity of war. Soviet writers, including the internationally known Sholokhov and Simonov, told people: Although a brilliant victory had been achieved over the Nazis in the war, the love, dreams and everything beautiful of millions upon millions of people have been sacrificed; the spring wind from year to year cannot dry the tears of orphans and widows. A number of famous works were introduced in China, such as "The Experience of a Person," "The Living and the Dead," "The Geese Fly South," and "The Song of Soldiers." Later they were labeled and criticized by Communist China for having "vilified the great war of national defense and exaggerated the horrors of war."

On the other hand, under the cultural tyranny of Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing, works depicting wars in China, even things which were merely true sketches of minor matters, were always taken to task, and there was always the worry of distorting revolutionary war. Therefore, China's literary works on war are almost all the same: the commanders can predict the enemies' [moves] in superior ways; the fighters are vigorous and energetic, while the enemy is ruthless and stupid; naturally, in the conclusion the heroes rejoice in victory and the enemies are defeated. The true picture of various complexities and details of war are all covered up. It is said that only in this way can "patriotic spirit" and "revolutionary heroism" be expressed. Not long ago, the debate on the movie "The Stars Tonight Are Shining Bright," in which Bai Hua depicts the battle of Huai Hai, still reflected this kind of restraint on the subject of war. In the movie, certain scenes depicting sacrifices were censored and deleted. Otherwise it would be implicated for being "antiwar."

Even at the height of "liberalization" we do not see a Chinese literary work that reaches even Soviet antiwar literary and art standards. This is the result of Mao Zedong's long worship and exaltation of "revolutionary wars" as an all-powerful recipe to resolve China's problems and his refusal to tolerate the slightest dissent.

Precisely because of this, Li Jianzhao's short poem and the criticism of it deserve our attention. This poem is realistic and daring. The relationship between officers and men which he depicts should of course be taken to include justice and revolutionary war. Yet he tells an ordinary but painful truth: the general's honors and the soldier's misfortune. The value of this poem is that, through this truth, it explicitly and sharply reveals and denounces the cruelty of war, thereby breaking the long-term confinement that Mao Zedong and his followers have had on the question of war and peace, and boldly challenging the unquestionable worship of war. This is unprecedented in Chinese Communist literary circles.

## "A General's Merit, Ten Thousand Bones Wither"

Su Ce criticizes "The General and the Soldier" for being "a refurbished version of the line 'A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither,' from Tang Dynasty poems," and for being "old stuff which plagiarizes the work of feudal society and whose appearance had been changed." "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" is nothing but "obsolete thinking."

The artistic conceptions of "The General and the Soldier" and "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" are indeed traceable to the same origin, but to call it "plagiarism" is totally ignorant and arbitrary about literary and art creation and deserves no debate.

The line "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" can be found in the "Complete Poems of the Tang." The author was Cao Song [2580-2646], a late Tang poet from Shuzhou in Anhui. The original poem is as follows:

The Year 879

The realm of the watery land has come under war,  
The people with no means of livelihood would be happy to gather sticks and grass  
for fuel;  
Even if you do not talk about the reward of creating a feudal prince,  
A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither.

Because of the brilliance of the last line of this poem, the original meaning has been forgotten by posterity. In the year 879, the 6th year of the reign of Qianfu of the Tang Emperor Xizong, Gao Pian, the revenue commissioner of Zhenhai, sent his troops to halt and attack the peasant rebel forces of Huang Chao. They killed at will, and the dead covered the open country. Cao Song's poem was about this incident. The "general" actually referred to was Gao Pian, whose merit made him a feudal prince. It is clear that the author's antiwar sentiment was against the unjust war of suppression of a peasant rebellion and was intended to ridicule and condemn the feudal prince Gao Pian. Therefore, this poem undoubtedly is populist. Where, then, does "obsolete thinking" come from?

Chinese history is filled with the sufferings of war--the continuous burning of beacon fires; the scenes of utter desolation; the serious damage to productive forces; the dislocation, homelessness and death of large numbers of people; and even numerous cases of tragic cannibalism. Poets and scholars with a good heart all felt a deep sense of sorrow and expressed their grief and indignation with their pens, writing antiwar works one after another. Read the "Eulogy of the Ancient Battlefield," and with the scene of "The dead fill the shore of the great harbor, blood fills the holes of the Great Wall," who would be in the mood to praise the military merits of defeating the Xiongnu? Many widely read poems denounce the cruelty and crimes of war. "The Journey to Longxi" by Chen Tao [7115-7118] has always been recognized as "even more bitter than the line, A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither":



Sworn to wipe out the Xiongnu without regard for themselves,  
Five thousand men in sable uniforms perished in the barbarian dust.  
Pity those uncertain bones on the riverbanks,  
They were like dreamers in their spring quarters.

The great poet Du Fu [2629 3940] even used his frequently quoted, widely loved and brilliant poems, including "The Three Officials," "The Three Farewells," "Former Journey to the Frontier" and "Later Journey to the Frontier," to express his incomparable grief over the people's suffering under military conscription and over deaths in war and turmoil. Antiwar thinking became a major characteristic of Du Fu's poetry.

War as depicted by the ancient poets encompassed the character of internal strife within the ruling class and aggression outside it, as well as the character of resistance to invasion by foreign nationalities, pacification of the frontier, and the quelling of internal turmoil. However, never has anyone criticized them for exaggerating the sufferings of war" and "creating the horrors of war." On the contrary, people have always been moved by these excellent poems generation after generation, praising their unusual artistic conception and vivid depiction. Precisely because these antiwar writings express the best of intentions of the people, they have become a part of China's cultural heritage with the greatest brilliance of populism and humanitarianism. Without these works, how can we prove that the Chinese nation is a peace-loving nation?

#### Lenin Also Denounced War

How does Marxism treat war? Everyone knows that Lenin was an ardent advocate of revolutionary war. During the First World War, he vigorously advocated turning the imperialist war into a civil war and conducted an intense debate over this with pacifists of the Second International and Socialist Party members. But Lenin was not a believer in the theory of the omnipotence of war; he never said that force and war could resolve all problems, but maintained a sober analysis of war. More than once he pointed out that a progressive war, "like all wars, cannot avoid bringing all kinds of horrible disasters, atrocities, catastrophes and sufferings," and that modern wars "put the whole of mankind close to an abyss, the whole culture to the brink of destruction and millions upon millions of people to vulgarity and death." Many communists who study the problems of war believe that every war is a misfortune to the proletariat.

Even a personality like Stalin did not totally lose his senses with regard to war. It was precisely because he wanted to avoid the catastrophe of war that he was lax in his preparations for war and was fooled by Hitler's false appearance. After the war he also raised the banner of peace.

In view of the painful lessons of the two world wars, the congress of communist parties of different countries adopted the "Declaration on Peace," which solemnly pointed out that if war broke out next time it would create suffering surpassing all the catastrophes that mankind had thus far experienced. It also stressed that



"war can be prevented" and appealed to "give the world peace!" We have no reason to deny the principles and standpoint of the contemporary international communist movement on war and peace.

### Men Are Not Equal

Many Western thinkers have correctly pointed out that war is an ugly side of human reason, and is a reflection of man's "original sin" or his inability to shake off his animal nature and heredity. The great development of modern civilizations has caused even more skeptics to believe that mankind will eventually perish as a whole in the disaster of a war. Therefore, to advance mankind we must advocate universal love, value peace and treat war as something to be carried out only when there is no other choice. Military specialists have regarded "victory without war" as the ideal of military strategy. "Sunzi's Art of War" states: "The most perfect [accomplishment] is not to win a hundred victories in a hundred battles; the most perfect is to defeat your opponent's troops without going into battle." "When using troops, make a show of strategem; secondarily, make a show of diplomacy; even more secondarily, make a show of force; and as a last resort, attack the walled city." This highly praises the use of wit to achieve one's objectives.

The first victims of war are naturally those soldiers who confront the ferocious fire and who fight at close quarters under the cannonfire. Generals and commanders no doubt enjoy a large degree of physical safety. War casualties relate only to the scale and length of war, and have nothing to do with the nature of war. A war that involves both victory and defeat is bound to have a number of shiny medals and piles of dreary bones. Therefore, the facts and the harsh truth revealed by "a general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" are applicable to wars of any kind.

What is so strange about this? Before we attain an ideal and perfect world, and before the removal of "bourgeois rights," human society has always been full of all kinds of inequalities and unreasonableness. From Caesar to Zhukov and from Genghis Khan to Napoleon, people have praised their achievements throughout the ages but have forgotten those unnamed soldiers who had fallen along the great Roman roads and the plains of Eastern Europe. In places where hero worship is feverish and unrestricted, the two fates of the general and the soldier are even farther apart. Perhaps, no other comparison than that between the general's honor and the soldier's blood can better show the injustice in human society. But for thousands of years, people have been used to this inequality and have come to know its historical inevitability. By denouncing and affirming it, they have realized the great progress which primitive men could not imagine.

### The Rules of Modern Warfare Have Changed

The struggle between war and peace has experienced two major debates in the history of the international communist movement. During the period of the Second International and after the Second World War, the antiwar faction was condemned as revisionist. If we say that what Kautsky said in 1919 remains an unproven worry, that "the next war will not only bring poverty and catastrophe but will thoroughly destroy all civilizations, and what is left will merely be smoking ruins and decaying bodies," then what Khrushchev said, that "the atomic bomb does not

adhere to class principles... and destroying a monopoly capitalist will destroy millions of workers" cannot be alarmist talk. The enormous nuclear arsenal among present-day nuclear countries and the extremely fast means of delivery have enabled the whole human race to see the possibility of self-destruction. An atomic bomb equivalent to 25,000 metric tons of TNT burned Hiroshima to the ground in an instant and took 20,000 lives. What then does the tested hydrogen bomb of 1 million metric tons signify? Questions that politicians squabbled over for a whole century have finally been answered by physicists. Einstein, this scientific genius who played a decisive role in the making of the nuclear bomb, became a great pacifist. He said: The next war will use the atom, and in the one after that only sticks will be used. For this, he and the philosopher Russell and others vigorously advocated the establishment of a "world government" so that war might be effectively prevented. Therefore, the belief that rockets and nuclear weapons have changed the former concept of war is undoubtedly correct. The conclusion is very clear. Opposition to the use of force and the threat of force, use of negotiations to resolve all international disputes and conflicts, turning hostility into friendship have become the goals politicians of all countries strive for. Nevertheless, Maoist theorists have condemned all this as "nuclear superstition," "the craze for negotiations," "the philosophy of survival" and "the greatest hoax." In particular, they have vilified at will the contribution the United States had made toward world peace.

#### Inhuman Views on War and Their Evil Consequences

Mao Zedong's fondness for struggle and his emphasis on military affairs are fully shown by facts.

From the 1950's to the 1970's, China advocated the mentality that "the state will perish forever if no enemy states commit aggression." All along, the atmosphere was that "we have to prepare for war." The slogan of "Stress revolution, promote production, and promote war preparations," was changed for over a decade during the Cultural Revolution. Every turn in life inside the country was a demand for "militarization," to learn the "March 8 workstyle" of the PLA, and to popularize the three main rules of discipline and the eight points of attention of the army. From "U.S. imperialism" and "Bandit Chiang" to "Soviet revisionism," there was an "imaginary enemy" at all times watching and waiting to strike at the gates of the nation. Consequently, a large portion of the budget was set aside for maintaining an enormous and primitive army, so that merely in order to gain the face value of international prestige it was worth wasting tens of billions of yuan to study and manufacture nuclear weapons.

Internationally, China was isolated. It stubbornly maintained the unique argument that "a world war cannot be avoided," it opposed the "nuclear test ban treaty," it opposed arms reduction, and it took pride in playing the role of a hardline warhawk. It regarded others' desire for peace and engagement in detente as false, believing that they were asking others to act against their own interests, so it was disdainful to be their friend. China had no hesitation about spending a trillion of its capital funds to support "armed struggle" in other countries.

Ever since he advanced [the notion] in the 1930's that "political power comes from the barrel of a gun" and asserted that "only the gun can transform the world," Mao Zedong never changed his worship of force. In this respect we need only point out two examples: one was the famous formula he put forward during the Cultural Revolution--"Our country has a population of 800 million; how can we not struggle? The second was the conclusion about his whole life--he felt that he had done only two things, namely: drive Chiang Kai-shek to the island, and launch the Great Cultural Revolution.

When there are too many people, they must struggle against each other. Such fantastic, maniacal logic fully exposes the evil psyche of this great dictator in "ruling the country." The use of one faction to fight against another, "instigating the masses to struggle against the masses," creating endless internal contradictions and turmoil so that he could divide and rule--these were the most successful magic weapons for seizing power in his many decades of political life. Of the two things he was most complacent about, it is unnecessary to mention the former, the triumph with the gun; whereas the latter, the Cultural Revolution, was characterized by its destructiveness, violence and armed struggle. From this, other than fooling around with the gun, he had no special likes and no special skills. Culture and economics really had no place in his mind. Under the tyranny of such a maniac for armed force, how could China's socialist construction not meet with failure?

The prominent characteristic of Mao Zedong's views on war is the emperor's mentality of treating human lives as nothing. On 17 May 1958 he casually told his senior cadres: "Do not be alarmed when a world war breaks out. Fighting a war is nothing other than people getting killed, and I have seen people get killed in war. The elimination of half the population has occurred several times in Chinese history. The number of people killed in the two world wars was not high; 10 million in the first and 20 million in the second. In our case we could easily lose 40 million.... An atomic war has not been experienced; we do not know how many will die. The best is to leave half the population, and the next best is to leave a third. If a few hundred million are left from over 2 billion people, several five-year plans will make them grow again, totally wiping out capitalism and achieving permanent peace. This is not a bad thing." We can find evidence for this quoted passage, which clearly shows that there is a ruthless, tyrannical, inhuman and abominable part to Mao Zedong's personal character. In the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" which he himself launched, more than tens of millions of people died, almost equivalent to the price paid in the two world wars. But who has seen him have the slightest compunction? No one. Not only that, but he laid the blame on others and brutally victimized those honest communists and masses who held different views. His ruthlessness confirms his admission that he was "not 10 times but 100 times more formidable than Qin Shihuang"!

Worship of war--this is the sacred and inviolable heritage Mao bequeathed to China. In his whole life, from guerilla war in the Soviet area to the Cultural Revolution, Mao used military control to clear up messy situations, and many times he succeeded with the help of the god of war. Because of this, Communist China accepted a deep-rooted philosophy of struggle and honored it as the highest precept, applicable to the whole world. The "broadening of the scope" of class struggle, the condemnation

and criticism of the parliamentary road, the advocacy of revolutionary violence, and the launching of the 10 disastrous years of the Cultural Revolution--were they not derived from this? Mao clearly indicated it in "On Contradiction": "The struggle between opposites in a contradiction is absolute and unconditions. Their unity is antithetic, conditional and temporary." Ultraleftist views on war became the most stubborn fortress of Mao Zedong's ideological system, which had been negated by practice. Under the extent of its damage, not only did the Chinese people who had lived for 30 years in a peaceful environment suffer violent turmoil, and not only did many loyal revolutionaries die in senseless internal struggle, but it also brought harm to other countries. Aidit and Yue-duo were affected by Mao's theory on the violent seizure of power and gave up the fruit of the parliamentary road. In the "30 September" incident, 400,000 Indonesian communists lost their lives. Even Aidit and Yue-duo were not spared.

In 1967 Mao frankly said: "Some say that China loves peace. That is not true. Actually China is fond of struggling. I am an example of this."

This unfortunate age has already paid an alarming price for Mao's theory of war. This price is the living proof that Mao Zedong had abandoned Marxism and opposed the people. However, this is not what many Chinese generals would admit. They even look forward to a modern Sparta, Mao Zedong style. They still believe that to transform China they have to use the gun and not peace, democracy and science.

#### Relationship Between Officers and Men in China

Let us turn back and look at the relationship between officers and men in China. In stirring up contradictions between ranks among party, government and local departments in China, the phenomena of disputes over trifles and even of confrontations were truly everywhere but there were few occurrences of them in the army. Obedience is the bounden duty of the soldier. This is the same for all countries and at all times, but it does not mean "intimacy." It is undeniable that the relationship between officers and men was closer before the Chinese Communists seized power. Officers and men alike lived an arduous and egalitarian life. However, having maintained an army for a long time after the founding of the state, civil officials became indolent and military officers frivolous. Special bureaucratic privileges grew extensively; it not only existed in the army but became even more serious. The reason is that, based on his blind faith in military force, Mao Zedong adopted a policy of winning over the forces so that they would become an obedient imperial tool, and in addition to normal special treatment they had even greater special privileges. For example, the fanatic advocacy of "class struggle" and "struggle of the lines" generally existed in the Cultural Revolution, but the armed forces were not allowed to take part in any form of struggle except "positive education." A group of veteran commanders and generals could be ruthlessly rectified, but the slogan "Lift a small handful of men in the army" was defined as a great crime of "destroying the stability of the forces." The armed forces went everywhere to "support the left" and "support and safeguard" comprehensive military control. They did not have to be responsible for their mistakes, not to mention preferential treatment as to wages, changing job upon demobilization, and unspecified grain allowances. With such godly protection, lofty social position and strict military discipline, the army became a state within a state. Unjust and



unlawful acts by army officers became easier to cover up than those of local bureaucrats, and it became easier for them to have their own way. As a result, it is reasonable that literary and artistic works after the fall of the gang of four have given even more sympathy to local cadres who, half-dead, had been rectified and that these works have exposed even more of the tyranny and abuse of power by army cadres. It is therefore not surprising that the conservative power of the military has become the major stumbling block to the reforms of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang.

In the course of constant expansion of special privileges among different levels of military officers, can we count on the relationships between officers and men in the PLA remaining equally intimate and one of life and death, compared to the time when they ate weeds and tree roots together? We do not wish to give examples of trivial facts of many mainland friends who mentioned that when Chinese Communist Army officers relieved a garrison, two trucks could not haul away one person's property. We also do not wish to repeat the scandals depicted in the movie "Flying in the Air" and in the poems of Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395]. It will be sufficient for us to make some logical deductions based on the existence of a "special bureaucratic privileged class," as admitted by Mao Zedong. We can say with certainty that since new class polarization has appeared in China, the Chinese Army cannot be as clean and equal as it has been beautified all along. In the face of class differences and confrontations, to say that the relationship between officers and men is intimate can only be a fairytale that no one can believe any longer.

#### The Unprecedented War of Defensive Counterattack

Su Ce said "As this poem was published in militarily burdened Yunnan, it particularly made people feel resentful and pained." He said that the Yunnan borderland, where a victorious war of defensive counterattack had been carried out against Vietnam, is still constantly disturbed. He demanded that writers should write more works to rouse the spirit of the soldiers, and said that "as for the poem 'The General and the Soldier,' with its content, we have no choice other than to express opposition."

We respect Mr Su Ce's sense of responsibility, and we have absolutely no intention of appeasing Vietnam's provocative behavior. Su Ce can fully order literary and art workers of the army to praise the great victory of the war of defensive counterattack, but he has no right to command local writers what they should write or sing. He said: "Even if what they write criticizes our shortcomings and mistakes, we will warmly welcome them."

According to those who understand conditions in the interior, response in the country to the punitive war against Vietnam in the spring of 1979 was not ideal. In the two provinces of Yunnan and Guangxi, which are situated on the frontlines, people did not show the expected enthusiasm for this sudden war. When the time came for really going into the "bloody battlefield," many young people and their parents, who at first regarded joining the army as a good way out, now felt it was too late for regrets. According to what one young person told his friend: "Since it is impossible to get away, it is better to think of a way to come home a hero."

At a time when fighting was intense on the frontline, a large-scale dance party was organized in a park in Qunming Municipality for several days, but privately people had a lot to say about the war.

TS'AN-K'AO HSIAO-HSI published the reactions of different countries. People noticed that quite a few countries, including long-friendly Romania and Yugoslavia, took a critical or reserved attitude toward the punitive war. Vietnam's evil needs no discussion, but can punishment be unscrupulous or disregard common principles? According to international practice, for border conflict and disturbance, there is no justification for conducting an all-out and large-scale warfare style of "counter-attack" along a border over 1,000 miles long and striking deep into the interior. The complacent air of using armed force to teach others a lesson can only be regarded as a manifestation of the remnants of great-power chauvinism, which cannot win the praise of people in the world. As for the war itself, how great was the victory? Was it successful? It is no longer a secret today. Other than having conducted a rather incomplete maneuver of one's modern military power, this war can be said to have achieved nothing.

We ask Mr Su Ce, can one write about these controversial aspects? Did the punitive war have shortcomings and mistakes? Can they be criticized?

#### The Fate of China's Korneychuk

Su Ce gave an example which shows that he welcomes criticism of "undesirable phenomena" on the part of the army. During the war of national defense, the famous Soviet writer Korneychuk wrote a play, "Front Line," which criticized an arrogant commander who was a lieutenant general. After it went on stage it was opposed by quite a few Red Army commanders, who submitted a request to Stalin for the arrest of the "reactionary writer." But Stalin approved the script of the play and awarded the author.

Can we imagine a play criticizing the wrongdoings of a commander of the Volunteer Army being shown in China at the height of the Korean War? Would it not "boost the enemy's morale and dampen one's own spirit?" Among China's numerous army officers, there may not be a lack of typical cases of bitter attack like that by Korneychuk. The army poet Ye Wenfu, who strongly abhors evildoings, dared to go against the wind and repeatedly attacked those generals corroded by special privileges, reflecting the fact that the incompetence and deterioration of the upper ranks of the Chinese army had reached an intolerable level. Yet, China's Korneychuk is not that fortunate. When he comes under the fierce "self-defense and counterattack" of the generals, no authoritative person will come to his aid.

It is a pity that by merely writing a little of what is commonly regarded as "gloomy" stories, Chinese writers often bring trouble upon themselves and have no escape. A political power that regards itself as the representative of the people's interests can permit a minister who wasted hundreds of millions of yuan in capital funds to continue to hold power. It can also permit a commander who has



seriously neglected his duty and lost men in action to continue to lead a large army. Yet it cannot tolerate a poem of 21 lines that exposes the nature of war. In this sense, Stalin was a little "wiser" than the leaders of Communist China. His severity in punishing defeated generals was awesome.

But it would be comical if a literary and artistic work must be determined to be right or wrong by the head of a party and state, however serious it might be. Korneychuk was fortunate to have the blessing of Stalin, who was subject to changing moods. In countries like China and the Soviet Union, have there been just a few intellectuals who lost their lives because of one word from the leader?

This antiwar poem by Li Jiangzhao was born quietly and "died" quietly. Henceforth, perhaps, it will be forgotten. But its publication manifested a mature trend of thought. When the shadow of Mao Zedong disappears and the true spring of the people arrives, this trend of thought will blow over China like a wind, bringing peace, universal love and happiness to people who have been subjected to the turmoil and ravages of war.

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## CRACKDOWN URGED FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES OF HIGH CADRES

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 42-45

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "The Little Flies Have Been Killed Off, Now Let Us Also Get the Tigers"]

[Text] Where There Is No Real Achievement, No One Will Applaud

At the group meeting for mutual congratulations for the Spring Festival in Beijing, Li Xiannian [2621 0341 1819], vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, declared: In our efforts to build a spiritual civilization in China we shall this year carry out two things: (1) Streamlining the administrative structure, getting rid of bureaucracy, raising work efficiency; (2) Sternly deal with economic and other serious cases of crime, above all prosecute active cases of serious economic crimes in which cadres in responsible positions are involved. It seems somewhat farfetched to speak of streamlining the administrative structure and prosecuting economic crimes as building up spiritual civilization; ordinarily, building up spiritual civilization would mean developing the ideological, scientific, artistic and cultural life.

Of course, the heart of the matter is not a semantic one but rather the substance itself. As things stand, either the streamlining of the administrative structure or the prosecution of economic crimes, each is a good thing. All we should care about is whether the Chinese communists are truly determined, have the courage to break through the obstructing forces and will pursue the matter to the very end "with the power of a thunderbolt and the speed of lightning"!

After their decade of experiences with the "cultural revolution," the Chinese people have become much smarter and mere propaganda will not make them dance with joy immediately. They will rather see what action follows the words, and without any true achievement, no one will applaud. Let us hope that the Chinese communists will this time produce some real achievements.

We Had It Before, But Today It Is Worse

This article will not deal with the streamlining of the administrative structure, but instead will concentrate on the question of economic crimes.

When we speak here of economic crimes, the following criminal activities are included: graft and corruption, embezzlement, misappropriation or squandering of public funds, theft of public property, the giving or taking of bribes, extortion and blackmail, tax evasion, smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering, forging negotiable instruments, assuming another person's name for fraudulent purposes, holding back profits that are due to the state, entertaining and sending gifts, indiscriminate distribution of rewards, ..., etc. Many of these criminal activities had already been rampant in the fifties before the "Three-Anti, Five-Anti" movement. At that time they were said to be the bourgeoisie's attack with sugarcoated bullets, and all the blame was placed on the capitalists, considering those activities the vicious attacks of the bourgeoisie against the party. Later, the capitalists were eliminated in the "socialist remolding" movement, and the market economy strictly controlled, so that the sphere of economic crimes was indeed correspondingly reduced. In recent years, in the wake of reopening the country to foreign trade and the resumption of domestic market activities, economic crimes have reappeared and risen at a speed that exceeded the economic recovery, now reaching unprecedented proportions, and are much more serious than at the time of the "Three-Anti, Five-Anti" movement or any time thereafter. At the top, up to certain senior officials, at the medium level including certain leading cadres in the provincial, municipal and autonomous district administrations, and at the lower level, many responsible cadres, functionaries in the county, commune and production brigade administrations have all been pulled into the whirlpool of these criminal economic activities. Going through the back door and establishing personal relations to reap personal favors have already become indispensable methods of mutual contacts in the society of communist China and without them it is impossible even to carry on normal production in enterprises or any other economic activity. The "xiang qian kan" ["looking for the money," a pun, homophonous with "looking forward"] has become a fairly common attitude in society. It has corrupted a large number of members of the CCP and the Communist Youth League, and even many old cadres had no way of escaping the trend, so that their will and determination of the old days became completely dissipated in today's power structure and influences. This serious decadence in today's China, where there are no more capitalists, can no longer be blamed on "vicious attacks by the bourgeoisie," nor again be considered an onus of the "gang of four," because it was only after the downfall of the "gang of four" that these conditions grew more and more pernicious. This urged on certain enlightened men in the leadership strata of the CCP to sound the alarm that the very life of the party and the state were in danger. Some of them believe that if this unhealthy trend is not promptly stopped, the CCP may go the same way as the Kuomintang of former times, that it will be shorn of all prestige and finally abandoned by the people.

Those So Far Exposed Were Small Fry of County Rank and Below

What then is the concrete condition of the economic crimes in present-day China? Due to the news blockade of the Chinese communists, no one can know the whole picture! All the more so since cases of economic crimes that involve senior leadership personnel are sealed up, their disclosure is prohibited, and they become "highly secrete internal material." The cases that have presently been officially handed to the Disciplinary Control Committee or the procuratorial authorities mostly concern people of county rank or below.

The Shanghai magazine MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] last December published a letter signed by Liu Sanqi [0491 0005 7871], who probably works in either the public security organs, procuratorial organs or the people's court and therefore has all the material at his disposal. According to his statement, including all 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country, except Tibet, over 5,400 cases of economic crimes were investigated during the first quarter of last year. Among these, 37 cases concerned malfeasances in office involving 10,000 yuan or more. There were also cases of graft of several hundred thousand yuan and cases of misappropriation of grain of several hundred thousand jin. In one case the deputy chairman of the Oversease Chinese Federation in a certain county of Fujian Province collaborated with the section chief of the county bank, embezzling as much as 190,000 yuan in remittances and savings of overseas Chinese. In another case the accountant of an engineering company in the town of Dukou in Sichuan Province embezzled over 262,000 yuan of public funds in 7 years. In yet another case the custodian of the grain storage house of a mill in the Huaiyin District of Zhejiang Province stole 295,000 jin of wheat in collusion with others inside and outside of his work place.

Looking at the nationwide data divulged by Liu Sanqi, all the cases obviously concern only crimes of personnel of county rank and below. As of yet no one has dared to expose cases of leadership personnel of one higher rank. Even in the graft case of Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] which caused a sensation throughout the country involving the huge amount of more than 530,000 yuan, Wang Shouxin was only the manager of a fuel company of Bin County in Heilongjiang Province.

The many rumors abroad of a case of someone's son smuggling gold remain only rumors, and nobody has yet exposed the true facts of this case. The case of a man returning in great style to his native place and spending several million yuan is also only a rumor. The only case of malfeasance of a man in a high position that has become known is the case of Yang Yibang [2799 5030 6721], vice minister of the Ministry of Chemical Industry. That case revealed that when Yang visited Hong Kong and Japan in 1979 for trade talks, he took bribes during negotiations with certain Hong Kong merchants on the importation of raw materials and equipment for chemical plants. After this was discovered, Yang was dismissed from all posts inside and outside the party at the beginning of last year. Recently there have been some indications of an "about face" in this case, and it is said that a certain person or persons is acting between the parties, trying to overturn the verdict.

The case of Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842] which recently caused a sensation was also not the case of a man who could be considered high in rank. Wang was party secretary in the Guangzhou Telecommunications Bureau and also director of that bureau. According to usual ranking order he was between the 16th and 13th rank, comparable to the rank of a head of a county, which is "insignificant as a sesame seed, as the seventh rank officials of Qing times," but among all the cases so far exposed, he must be reckoned as fairly high. Wang Weijing plotted, together with his wife Wang Min [3769 2404], misusing the powers of his office, to fraudulently garner state-controlled foreign exchange to buy up TV sets, tape recorders, electronic calculators, watches and other articles in Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou, Chaoyang and other places and ship this merchandise to Yantai and Wendeng in Shandong Province for sale, reaping staggering profits and thus committing the

crime of speculating and profiteering. Someone in the Guangzhou Telecommunications Bureau had reported this case already at the beginning of last year to the Disciplinary Control Commission, the judicial authorities and the press, but only in June of last year did the Guangzhou procuratorate institute proceedings, arresting Wang Min on 25 July and dragging out this case until today. Most recently, probably because of the drive of the central authorities to rectify the workstyle of the party, there was some reaction among certain provincial party secretaries. This case was then seized upon as a model and Wang Weijing was arrested on 1 February.

A case of an economic crime similar to that of Wang Weijing, as far as position of the perpetrator is concerned, occurred in Nanjing. The main culprit was Chen Shouyang [7115 1108 7122], assistant manager of the Jiangsu Machinery Export Company. In January last year he visited Italy, taking along Dai Guixie [2071 6311 7327], a clerical employee of the company, and Shen Kezhong [3947 0668 0022], assistant manager of the Huaihai Leather Factory at Xuzhou. Under the pretext of having been robbed and of loaning the money, he accepted bribes from the foreign merchants and submitted to their harsh demands in the trade negotiations, thus doing great harm to the interests and the reputation of our country. Chen Shouyang was later expelled from the party and dismissed from his administrative position. On 8 January this year the Disciplinary Control Committee of the Central Committee issued a special bulletin on the case.

#### "Huaibei's Wang Shouxin"

Last year a case of graft was exposed in Huaibei City, Anhui Province, which became known as "Huaibei's Wang Shouxin Case." The culprit in this "Huaibei Wang Shouxin Case" was Zhang Kai [1728 0418], manager of the Huaibei Leather Factory. This man is said to have already twice committed fraud and larceny in the sixties. Because he had protected a vice chairman of a local revolutionary committee during the cultural revolution, he had earned the gratitude of certain leading cadres of the municipal party committee of Huaibei. He finally linked up with the head of the secretariat of the municipal party committee Ren Shoudao [0117 1343 6670] and in 1973 was appointed manager of the leather factory with all the powers of production, acquisitions and marketing concentrated in his hands. In the course of several years he exploited the opportunities of his position and took advantage of the confused state of financial management by omitting the proper accounting of income, forging invoices and making out fake receipts and thus embezzling an amount of over 30,000 yuan. Connected with this case was the case of Zhao Dehong [6392 1795 3163], assistant party secretary of the suburban district of Huaibei. This case was exposed by someone already several years ago but held up all that time, the main obstruction coming from the Huaibei party committee. Zhang Kai even reviled the man who had exposed his misdeeds, saying: "Go ahead and write, write a whole carload full, it will all come back into my briefcase!" He was full of confidence that those above or below him would work with him hand in glove. He liked to use the phrase: "If one has money one can buy power, if one has power one need not worry about money." Zhang Kai was arrested only as late as 3 July 1980. On 23 January 1981 the RENMIN RIBAO published a news report entitled: "Where Do All the Obstructing Forces Come From?" reporting on this case. Only one year later, at the beginning of February, the Central Broadcasting Company



broadcast the report that the intermediate people's court had sentenced Zhang Kai to 15 years, Ren Shoudao to 4 years and Zhao Dehong to 3 years imprisonment. These sentences were probably also only pronounced to conform to the "rectification of the party's workstyle on a grand scale" instituted by the central authorities.

#### The Big Graft Case in Heilongjiang Province

As the CCP Central Committee is stepping up its rectification of the party's workstyle, more and more articles are being gradually seen in the press that bring relevant material to light, and cadres of higher and higher rank are shown as being involved. In the middle part of January the FUJIAN RIBAO reported the case of a cadre of the prefectural party committee, Huang Changmao [7806 7022 5399], member of the standing committee of the prefectural party committee of Linxi in Fujian Province and deputy prefectural commissioner, who was involved in an affair of fraud for personal gain. Under fraudulent pretexts he converted the rural residential registration of his wife and children into an urban one and in defiance of policies arranged a regular job for his wife. The punishment meted out to him was not severe at all. His wife and children were merely required to be returned to rural residential registration and the employment that contravened policy had to be revoked. He himself was to examine and acknowledge his own mistakes and to "conscientiously correct his future workstyle, final disposal of the matter to await later decision." In the beginning of March the BEIJING RIBAO reported several large cases of graft in Heilongjiang Province, with the total amount involved exceeding 250 million yuan. Good gracious, that is really a huge figure! It is said that the cases included fabricating production costs, extra-plan construction projects, indiscriminate distribution of rewards, tax evasion, etc. Unfortunately the BEIJING RIBAO did not specifically name the enterprises that committed the malfeasances, purposely concealing their identity. It is said that only one-fifth of the misappropriated funds could be recovered. The BEIJING RIBAO also gave as the main reason for the success of the present investigation that the financial authorities had promised leniency in case the enterprises confessed their malfeasances, for only then would the enterprises be willing to acknowledge their misdeeds. This shows that as a quid pro quo for their confessions the enterprises received lenient consideration, which again means that there would be no punishments according to law and not even disciplinary punishment. Dealing in this manner is called "internal settlement," meaning private settlement among the parties and relegating the law to a mere scrap of paper.

#### Pilferage Committed by the Collusion of Several Persons

Another case in which only lower ranking personnel were exposed was the case of pilferage at the Hankou Steel and Iron Company, a case reported in the RENMIN RIBAO of 6 February. The main culprits were Duan Yaoming [3008 5069 2494], temporary employee at the Wuhan Crane and Hoist Company, and Liu Kangping [0491 1660 1627], who was in charge of the supply and marketing team of the said company. By bribery they bought over Zhang Ronggen [1728 2837 2704], an employee in the materials office of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, Xiong Zhenglong [3574 2973 7893], deputy chief of the production section of the cold rolling plant, Wang Yuansong [3769 6678 2646], employee in raw material planning, and Sun Lin [1327 2651], employee in charge of



opening contract bids. Payment for steel purchases was always less than the value of the goods actually delivered. In the year from June 1980 to July 1981, they took delivery of 1.032 tons of waste and inferior steel, paying for only 654 tons and leaving over 300 tons unpaid. The steel that was paid for was priced at 350 yuan, but resold at 700 or 800 yuan per ton, so that an enormous profit of over 400,000 yuan was reaped in that one year. This case was made a model case in the education for improvement of party workstyle and correct political discipline, education conducted by the party secretaries of the Wuhan Steel Company and the cold rolling plant.

Cases of such collusion for the commission of larceny by means of buying in material and selling it at high prices can now be found everywhere throughout the country. Much pained by the danger and harm to the country brought about by the large number of criminal economic activities, two men who had something to do with the trial of economic cases write a special article, which was published in the January issue of MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM]. In this article they reveal that in a certain silk weaving factory, the person in charge of the production team misused the powers of his position, accepted bribes and entertainments and when concluding a contract with a certain collective unit for the processing of ethylene glycol purposely worded the contract so ambiguously that the processing unit could steal over 75,900 jin of the processed ethylene glycol, valued at 300,000 yuan, in the course of a little over 2 years.

On 5 February the ZHONGGUO FAZHIBAO [JOURNAL OF CHINESE LEGAL SYSTEM] reported a large case of graft at Datong in Shanxi Province. This case involved 13 counties in the three provinces of Shanxi, Hebei and Zhejiang; over 50 people were directly involved and the state funds embezzled or illegally retained amounted to 587,000 yuan. The culprits used such methods as issuing phony oil vouchers, giving and taking bribes, speculating and profiteering, theft in collusion with others, buying and selling on margin, busying themselves all over the place to establish connections and getting the middleman's profit, etc. The heaviest penalty in this case, namely 16 years, was imposed on Xin Yin [6580 0603], a statistician at the Kouquan coal platform of the Datong Municipal Mining Company.

The people that so far could have been exposed as having committed economic crimes are elements of the lower level who actually had certain powers in their units. Their positions were not high, but the enormous profits gained were considerably indeed, frequently as high as several hundred thousand yuan. This sum amounts to over 1 million Hong Kong dollars and, considering the low living standards on the mainland, this million is at least equivalent to 10 million of the very rich here!

#### Smuggling and Trafficking in Smuggled Goods

One type of economic crime is the smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods. It is well-known that there are three provinces where smuggling is rampant, i.e., Guangzhou, Fujian and Zhejiang, all located along the ocean and close to Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. Much of the smuggling is carried out over the sea lanes. Several gangs of smugglers abroad regularly use large fishing vessels to ship TV sets, tape recorders, electronic calculators, watches, etc., into areas close to Chinese waters

and conduct their transactions with Chinese smuggling gangs on the high sea, taking in gold or silver dollars. Smuggling activities of this nature cannot be carried out without the participation of big and small Chinese communist cadres.

The newly appointed first provincial party secretary of Fujian Province, Xiang Nan [7309 0589], had the following to say at the meeting of party members and cadres in responsible positions in the administrative organizations directly under the Fujian provincial administration, held on 5 February: "Smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering is not possible unless there is some collusion between those higher up and those below and between those in our country and people abroad." He therefore suggested on the one hand to resolutely attack all graft and theft within the party, and on the other hand to resolutely attack all the nouveaux riches in the society who had enriched themselves through smuggling, especially those upstarts who in a short time have reaped large profits of several tens of thousands, hundred thousands and even several hundred thousands of yuan; their property should be confiscated and they should be punished according to law, so as to eliminate these people as well as their accumulated wealth.

Precisely on the same day as Xiang Nan gave his speech, the FUJIAN RIBAO published the news of a sentence by the Jinjiang people's court in Fujian Province concerning a smuggling case. The culprits were all not high ranking officials--one was the purchasing agent for the Jinjing department store in Jinjiang, another was a cashier of that agency, another a cadre of the tax bureau, and yet another a member of an agricultural commune. They all had worked in collusion, importing smuggled tape recorders, electronic calculators and other goods, buying them up as imports by overseas Chinese and reaping exorbitant profits. The total value of their sales of smuggled goods amounted to 250,000 yuan and the taxes that they had evaded amounted to 75,000 yuan. In publishing this news, the propaganda department of Fujian Province probably intended to coordinate their work with Xiang Nan's speech. It is only regrettable that the culprits in the Jinjiang smuggling case are all small fry and not really fitting targets considering the formidable caliber of Xiang Nan's momentous speech.

#### Fraudulent Simulations

The criminal economic activities in China appear in a great variety of forms, worked out in strange schemes, some even assuming the form of fraudulent simulations.

As revealed by Chen Ming [7115 2494], deputy chief of the Zhejiang Provincial Bureau of Public Security, some very amazing swindles have been perpetrated on certain communes, production brigades and neighborhood enterprises in the Zhejiang area. Because these communes, brigades and neighborhood enterprises originally have no network for extended operations but are most eager to expand their business, some lawless persons are taking advantage of this weak point. They illicitly carved themselves phony official seals, forged certificates and pretended to be "factory directors," "managers" and "purchasing agents" from other localities to carry out their fraudulent tricks. Some pretended to be signing processing contracts or placing orders for goods, others pretended to be marketing certain merchandise,

some pretended to help the communes, brigades or enterprises in their purchases, while they actually engaged in buying and selling on margin or engaged in fraud and extortions.

In March last year, a certain Li Sujuan [2621 4790 1227] (female), a family member of a worker in a branch of a certain Nei Monggol coal mine, working in collusion with Qian Bin [6929 2430], a purchasing agent for the Zhuge Clothes Factory of the Tanqiao commune in Shouxing County, Zhejiang Province, pretended to be an "assistant manager" and "purchasing agent," placed an order with the silk weaving factory of the Lize commune in Jiashan County, Zhejiang Province, for a large quantity of brocade quilt covers and defrauded the place by over 1,300 quilt covers of soft silk fabric in satin weave, valued at over 20,200 yuan.

Also in March last year, two men posed as "purchasing agents of the Fancun Machine Manufacturing Plant No 1" and placed orders with the knitting mill of the Xiaoshao commune in Zhenhai County, Zhejiang Province, signing a contract for 50,000 yuan worth of "qing lun" shirts and nylon stockings. When the factory consigned the goods for shipment to Hebei Province, the fraud was discovered at the Handan railway station and the goods were confiscated. It was then that the factory found out it was swindled.

Furthermore, there was the case of the agricultural machinery plant of a commune in Zhengzhou City, Henan Province, that signed a contract with the cotton mill of the Chaoyang brigade of Chaoyang commune in Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, for the supply of one fly frame and one spinning frame. The cotton mill twice remitted the sum of over 30,000 yuan to the agricultural machinery plant, but never heard from them, so they dispatched someone to Zhengzhou to ask for delivery who was told by the manager of the agricultural machinery plant: "We did receive your money and have spent it already on salaries and wages for our staff and workers. As for the machinery you require, we are unable to manufacture it." To have the gall to sign a contract for things one is unable to manufacture and then also to accept money and use it for salaries and wages, that is really a mean way of cheating!

The above are examples of swindles perpetrated on the people of Zhejiang Province; there are also examples of Zhejiang Province swindling other provinces. There is a certain factory in Wenzhou, manufacturing machinery for water conservancy work. It signed a contract with a unit outside of this province accepting 210,000 from the other party, but ended up with no goods to deliver and all money having been spent. There is also a certain welfare establishment which signed a contract for 500,000 yuan. The buyer repeatedly called asking for delivery, but the goods could not be delivered and the money was all gone.

It is clear from these examples that domestic trade in China simply has no sound credit system. If the trade through domestic contracts would employ a system similar to overseas trade and stipulate payments by letters of credit through banks, these messy cases of fraud could all have been avoided.

## "Dragons in Repose and Tigers in Concealment" in the Area of Foreign Trade Activities

The factual examples quoted above are cases already officially publicized by the Chinese communists. They are but a drop in the ocean of presently perpetrated crimes and are also only a "drop" of crimes committed by small fry officials alone.

There are two aspects of the economic opening of the country, one is the domestic and one is the foreign aspect. The domestic economic activities are on a much smaller scale than the foreign economic activities. The economic relations with foreign countries comprise the ordinary import and export trade, the compensation trade, the introduction of foreign capital and technological know-how (including joint Chinese-foreign investments), the establishment of special trade zones and the employment of Chinese capital abroad, especially in the Hong Kong and Macao markets. All these foreign trade activities involve large sums, frequently several million, tens of millions or even as much as several hundred million. Compared with these foreign trade transactions, the criminal cases so far exposed are really like "a small sorcerer in the presence of a great one." The ordinary small citizen or small cadre has no way of getting his hands into these foreign trade transactions that involve huge sums of money. To get one's fingers into this kind of game one must be a man of medium or higher position. It is rumored that there are some medium and higher ranking officials in China who are very much concerned with foreign trade activities, and who frequently get their relatives or close friends to stay abroad to cooperate with them. Since these high level economic activities are treated as "top secret," and also require a high degree of technical skill, it is hardly possible that they will be divulged and exposed by anyone.

The "socialist" path now being followed by China is of a fairly unique character among all the communist countries of the world. The uniqueness in economic matters is manifested mainly in China's efforts to expand relations with foreign capital, and that China intends to expand special economic zones in many more areas. It is even more unique in China's cooperation with the capital of overseas Chinese in direct investment and speculative activities in the Hong Kong market. This peculiar situation brings about contacts between bureaucrats and overseas capitalists with an unprecedented closeness of relations. If it is asserted that economic crimes result from bourgeois influences, then the influences received in this fertile ground are indeed most direct and most serious, and one may suspect there are quite a number of "dragons in repose and tigers in concealment" here.

There is a passage in Zhuangzi, Chapter Qu Qie [Rifling Boxes] which reads: "Those who merely steel clasps will be executed; those who steel entire countries become feudal lords." This is a golden saying derived from the experiences of history. Let us hope something like that will not be reenacted in our present society.

A commentator wrote in the RENMIN RIBAO of 5 February: "In order to achieve a definitive improvement in the workstyle of the party, we must resolutely attack such serious and criminal activities as smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, graft and bribery, and get this extremely important problem firmly and unrelentingly under control, since it is seriously destroying the prestige of the party and

constitutes a matter of life and death for our party. The problem must be solved vigorously and speedily. The more these cases involve highly placed personalities and high level organizations, the more resolutely and unrelentingly should they be prosecuted and dealt with with greatest severity."

However, if that is really to be achieved it would be desirable that the Chinese communists not merely kill off the little flies, but also sally forth and attack some of the big tigers! Only this will truly satisfy the people.

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